CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MARCH 12, 1990 $2.25

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DAVID BOWIE HITS THE ROAD

CANADA IN CRISIS

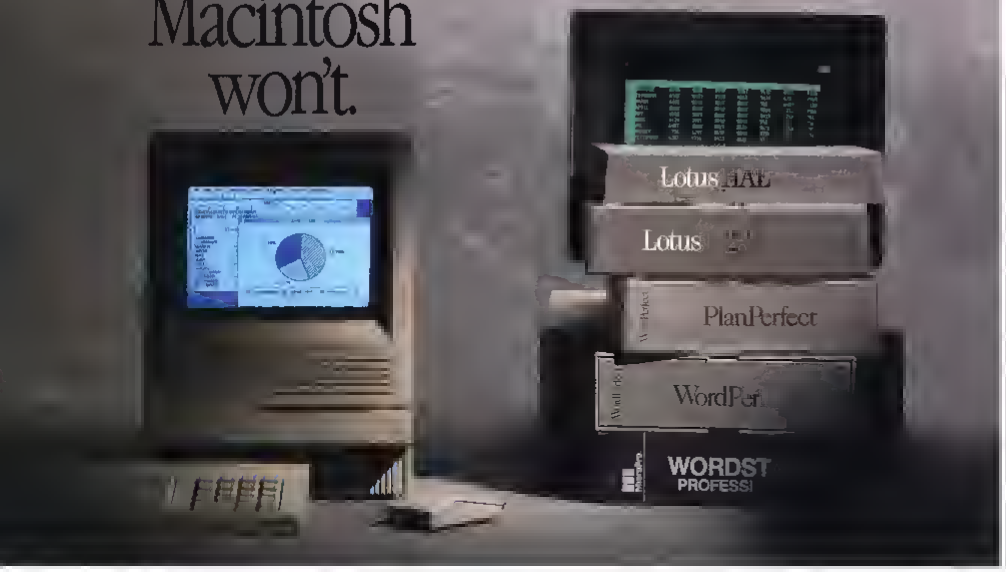
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COVER

CANADA IN CRISIS

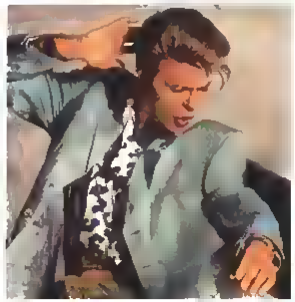
Ottawa's constitutional efforts still seem to be focused on trying to get the Meech Lake accord ratified by its generally accepted June 23 deadline. But some Canadians, looking farther ahead, are thinking the unthinkable: what will be left of Canada if the accord fails? Across the country, Canadians seem increasingly resigned to the prospect of a breakup of Confederation. — 18

WORLD

AFTERSHOCK IN NICARAGUA

In a stunning upset, the National Opposition Union, a fractious coalition led by Violeta Chamorro, defeated the leftist Nicaraguan government of Daniel Ortega to end more than 10 turbulent years of Sandinista rule. President George Bush hailed the result as "another victory" for democracy. — 30





MUSIC

GOLDEN YEARS

Now crossing Canada with an adventurous greatest-hits show, David Bowie is solidifying his reputation as rock's chameleon prince. But he vows that the tour, which will travel to 14 countries over the next eight months, is the last time that he will be performing his old songs. — 62

COVER ILLUSTRATION BY BOB SUZUKI

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A Pressing Obligation

The time for talking profitably about the constitutional amendments agreed to at Meech Lake in 1987 has run out. Canadians are understandably confused about the issues and the process involved, and the confusion has bred an uncharacteristic anger and meanness in the country. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and seven of the 10 provincial premiers support the amendments, which include providing Quebec with a "distinct-society" status. But they take the position that all 10 provincial governments have to support the changes before they can become law. As well, Ottawa claims that the amending process requires that unanimous consent be achieved by June 23. Constitutional experts are divided on both issues. Some of them say that the consent of Ottawa and the seven provinces, representing two-thirds of the provinces with more than half of the population, is all that is needed to pass most of the amendments. Others say that the June 23 deadline does not apply to some of the current proposals and that, in fact, there is no deadline.

Ottawa surely now has an obligation at least to clear up those basic uncertainties. It can do that by referring the issues to the Supreme Court for a swift ruling. Should the court decide that support from Ottawa and the Seven is all that is required, then the federal and provincial governments should have the political courage to act on their convictions and make the amendments law, whatever any of us think of them.

At the same time, if the court does not uphold the June 23 date, Ottawa should adjourn the debate until it is clear either that a more propitious climate exists or until a more nationally acceptable course of action has emerged.

If unanimity and June 23 are indeed essential requirements, then Ottawa should institute a constitutional conference immediately and get an agreement, or throw out the amendments. To continue the current process for another three months is just too dangerous.



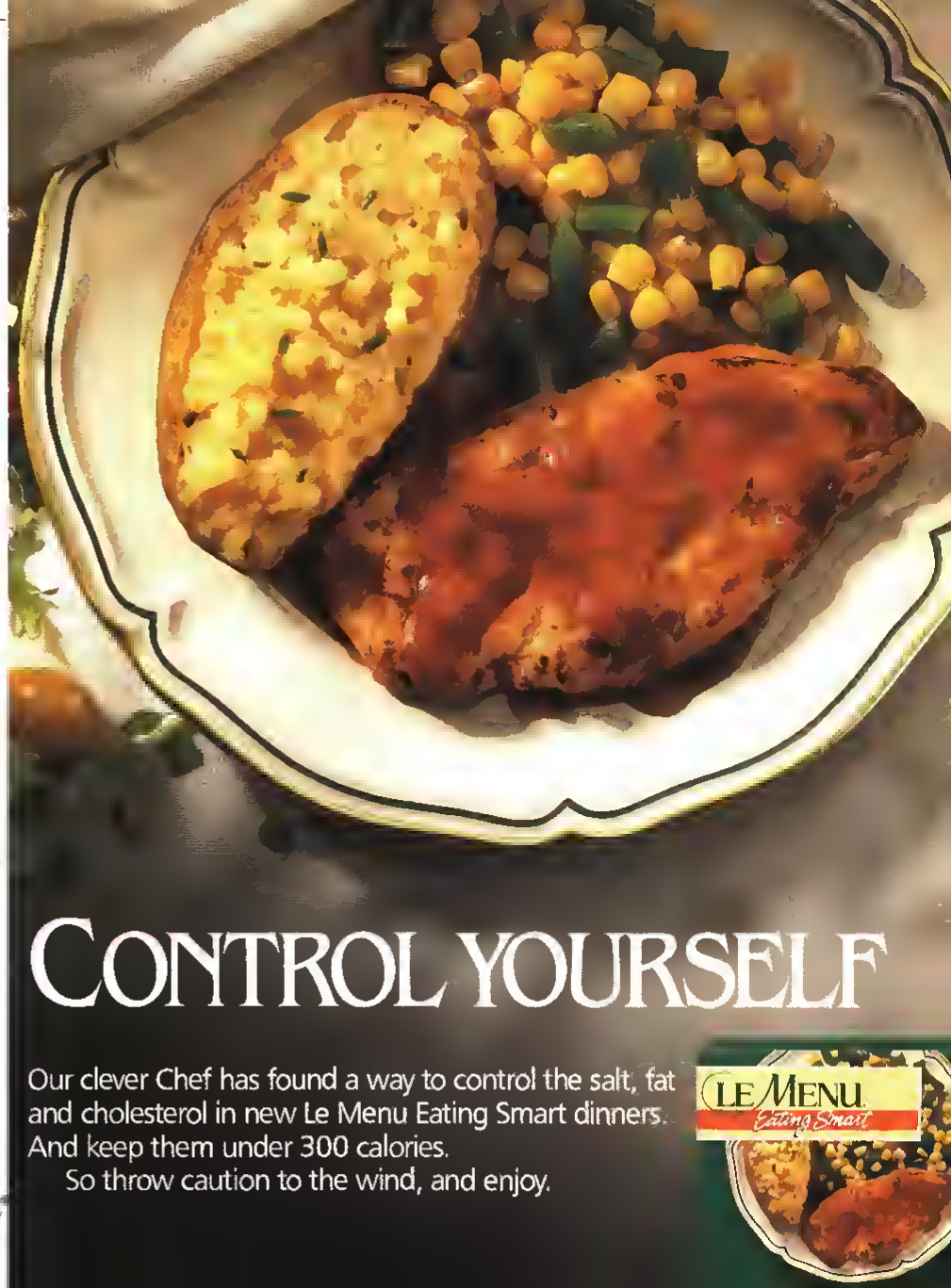
Editors Paul Kaihla (left) and Chris Wood, who supervised the cover story, breeding anger

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LETTERS

A STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

I greatly appreciated the message expressed in "An Act Of Courage" (From the Editor's Desk, Feb. 12). South African President F. W. de Klerk's recent release of Nelson Mandela and the legalization of the African National Congress are bold and historic steps towards the abolition of apartheid's inhuman segregation. These actions were not driven solely by economic sanctions, as is often declared by Western nations—they are the result of a struggle over a century old; a struggle for equality. De Klerk has placed long-absent faith in black leaders and this, coupled with the efforts of great leaders like Mandela and the courage and determination of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, can and will serve to institute change to benefit the whole of South Africa.

Wendy Phillips,
Silver Valley, Alta.

LIFE'S BASIC NECESSITIES

Your article "Life in the slow lane" (Cover, Feb. 19) is a largely accurate portrayal of the daily existence of Muscovites. However, you could have added more dramatic effect by printing a photograph showing shoppers queuing up in front of a food store. Your photograph depicts a wine store...hardly a place to get the very basic necessities of life.

Dionya Kruger,
Calgary

SHIFTING TO NEW TOXINS?

In "The recycling boom" (Environment, Feb. 19), you describe an insulating material made by spinning plastic waste as "pliable, nontoxic and comparable in energy efficiency to glass fibre." That's all very well, but how does it burn? I am heartened by the efforts governments, industry and individuals are making in recycling paper, metals, glass and plastic. However, I am concerned that a new class of toxic, flammable materials may be introduced into building construction.

Patrick Farmer,
Halifax

THE MAPLE LEAF'S FAILURE

Regarding "A flag that flourished" (Canada, Feb. 19): Lester B. Pearson said that we needed a new flag for Canadian unity. It was more an attempt to please Quebec. What color flag do we see in Quebec today? Is it more blue than red? And what's happened to Canadian unity? The flag, on these counts, has failed badly.

Leonard Scott,
Cupar, Sask.



De Klerk: 'bold and historic steps'

Reading your article on the anniversary of our flag took me back to that day 25 years ago when I was a young sailor in the Royal Canadian Navy aboard HMCS St. Laurent. We were in southern waters participating in winter exercises and had entered Barbados for a few days. On the morning of Feb. 15, there were special ceremonies aboard ship as on all Canadian ships and bases around the world, to retire the White Ensign, which had flown over our ships for more than half a century, and raise the new Maple Leaf for the first time. I remember wondering on that balmy winter morning far from home if this new pennant would ever become as familiar and comfortable as the old. It has.

Norman Chalmers
Oshawa, Ont.

'HORRENDOUS SQUANDERING'

If William McKnight should not have hitched a ride on a Canadian Forces F-18 jet regular training flight to Ottawa, then the F-18 should not be making regular training flights at $5,389 per hour ("Jet-set travel costs," Opening Notes, Feb. 12). What a horrendous waste of money by the department of national defence on its many regular training flights. May McKnight further expose such squandering of tax dollars and act to clip some wings to help bring the federal deficit under control.

Delbert Dynna
Prince Albert, Sask.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean Hunter Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont., M5W 1A7.

PASSAGES



DIED: **Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger,** 97, the leading member of the family that turned *The New York Times* into one of the most influential newspapers in the world; of respiratory failure at her home in Stamford, Conn. The daughter of **Adolph S. Ochs,** who aquired the *Times* in 1896, she was instrumental in selecting the paper's three successive publishers: husband **Arthur Hays Sulzberger,** son-in-law **Orvil E. Dryfoos** and son **Arthur Ochs Sulzberger,** who has been publisher since 1963. Sulzberger herself was a member of the newspaper company's board of directors from 1917 to 1973. She is credited with, among other things, encouraging the extensive network of foreign bureaus maintained by the paper.

DIED: **John (Bud) Wild,** 72, legendary Canadian journalism instructor who influenced hundreds of reporters during his 36-year teaching career at the University of Western Ontario's School of Journalism in London, Ont., of lung cancer, in hospital near his London home.

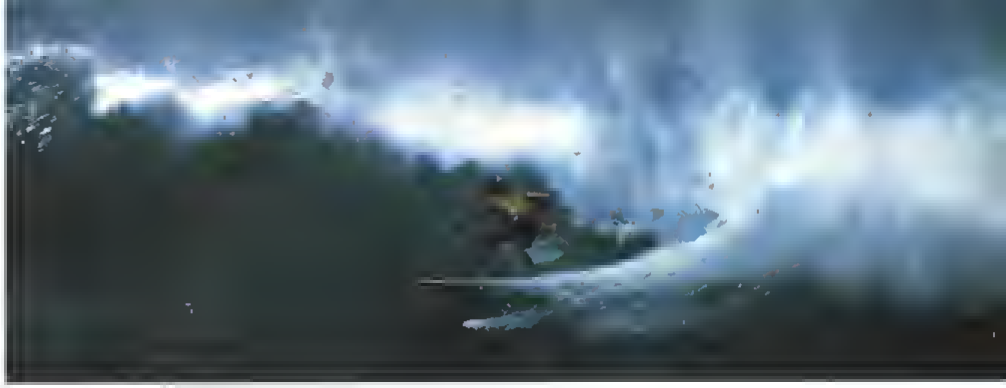
DIED: Engineer **Eric Llewellyn Hartley,** 77, a leading figure in the construction of such Canadian landmarks as Vancouver's Lions Gate Bridge, the Toronto-Dominion Centre and Montreal's Place Ville Marie, from bronchial complications in hospital near his Toronto home.

DIED: **Cornell Gunter,** 53, lead singer of the rock group The Coasters, whose biggest hits were the 1950s tunes *Yakety Yak* and *Charlie Brown*, after being shot twice in the chest while driving his car, in Las Vegas, Nev.

DIED: Veteran Canadian journalist **James Rennie,** 49, who during his 33-year-long career was deputy managing editor of *The Toronto Star* and managing editor of the *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, when his car struck a guardrail near Peterborough, Ont.

DIED: British stage and movie actress **Fabia Drake,** 86, who ended her 77-year-long career with the 1989 movie *Valmont*, in her London home.

DIED: **Greville Wynne,** 71, who spied for Britain from 1938 until 1962 when he was arrested in Budapest, and then spent 18 months in a Moscow prison; of throat cancer, in hospital near his London home.



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LETTERS

'VAMPIRIZING BALLARD'

My initial interest in the Harold Ballard saga was generated through anger at the press's mistreatment of my father Stan Obodiac's connection to him. In a time of much devastation and vulnerability, the press preyed upon my mother for information—a great deal of which was misused and misquoted in order



Ballard: 'a pallbearer, at his own request'

to throw together sensationalist articles slurring the character of Ballard. I admit I did not read your Jan. 22 cover story ("An epic family struggle") in its entirety. The situation bores me, the press's continual inaccuracy is appalling. You state that "William and Harold Jr. attended Obodiac's funeral, but their father did not even send a sympathy card." Actually, Ballard was a pallbearer, at his own request. Your obsession with scandal is tacky and untimely. Now Ballard and his family are extremely vulnerable—his health aids, and they simply want to be by his side. This letter, if nothing else, is a get-well note. But if the press won't stop vampirizing this old man's body, it may unfortunately become my own "sympathy card."

Hadley Obodiac,
Willowdale, Ont.

IGNORING PEOPLE POWER

In "The Prime Minister's political choices" (Business Watch, Feb. 12), Peter C. Newman points out that Brian Mulroney "goes on implementing policies he feels are necessary, no matter how unpopular." It is ironic that, as our government praises and supports the arrival of democracy in the Eastern Bloc, it is denying the principles inherent in people power in its administration of our own nation.

Mary Rice,
Battleford, Sask.

DOUBLE STANDARDS?

I am confused by the Prime Minister's reactions to the Sault Ste. Marie declaration and to Quebec's Bill 178 ("Taking sides on language," Canada, Feb. 19). While he timidly voiced the mildest of reprimands to Quebec for bringing in its law banning English on signs in that province, he was vigorous in his condemnation of Sault Ste. Marie and its English-only bylaw. The present language debate in Canada can be largely traced back to Robert Bourassa's signing of Bill 178. Without that act, I believe the Meech Lake accord would have been passed into law without much problem and there would not have been situations such as that in Sault Ste. Marie.

Robert LaFrance,
Kincardine, N.B.

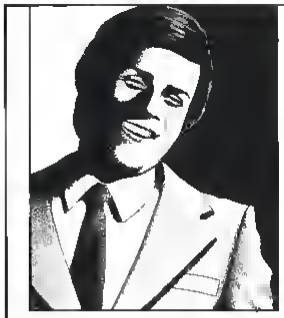
'WINE-SODDEN' PRAISE

I enjoyed Allan Fotheringham's description of the now-legendary Writers' Development Trust dinner in January, 1989 ("Black ties, running shoes and gossip," Column, Feb. 5), particularly the reference to me as a "celebrated CBC wit." But I like novelist and writer Heather Robertson's accurate eyewitness account of the event even more. In *Canadian Forum* (January, 1990) Robertson says, "Zolf was great, he had everyone in fits." Alas, until I started to read an excerpt of my book to what I thought was a literary event. Then, Foth and friends turned into what Heather calls "300 rowdy, wine-sodden listeners." Still, even a dram of praise from a wine-sodden national columnist is better than nothing.

Larry Zolf,
Toronto

We are delighted to have the activities of The Writers' Development Trust noted in Fotheringham's column, but it would be more accurate to say the trust supports a broader range of projects for Canadian writers than aiding "indigent authors [illegible] in their dotage." It administers and/or funds projects such as The Marian Engel Award, The Margaret Laurence Memorial Lecture, The En'owkin International School of Writing (the first school of writing for native Indians) and many more.

Katherine Govier,
Vice-Chairman,
The Writers' Development Trust,
Toronto



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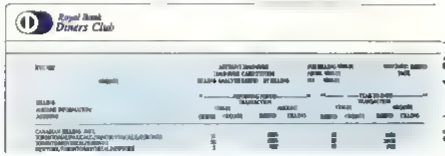
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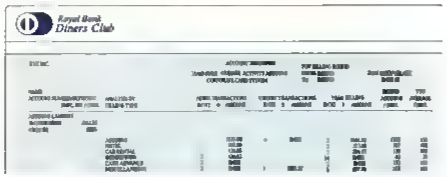
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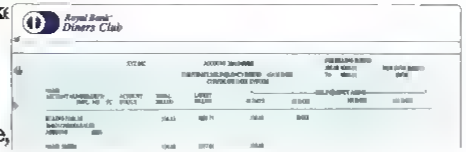


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OPENING NOTES

Barbara Frum plans ahead, Alexander Solzhenitsyn sends a message to Moscow, and Kathleen Turner gets the brush

CHASING A HOT STORY

After a 17-day battle, firefighters near Hagersville, Ont., tasted victory on Feb. 28, snuffing out a huge blaze in a dump containing 14 million tires. The fire also drew international media attention to the small town, 80 km southwest of Toronto, and many witnesses are still talking about the journalistic invasion—particularly the arrival of an ABC TV news team. On Feb. 21, nine days after the fire erupted, network news editors suddenly decided to send a crew from New York City. On such short notice, the crew first took a chartered Learjet to Buffalo, N.Y., hired a helicopter for a 20-minute flight to Hamilton and then rented a chauffeur-driven stretch limousine for the short drive to the fire site. But the car's highly visible presence led Bob Thomas, a spokesman for the Ontario ministry of natural resources, to turn down a request to appear on ABC's *Nightline* program that evening—because he would have had to undertake a two-hour drive to a Toronto studio. Said Thomas: "ABC showed up in a limo. Why couldn't they send one for me?"



PLATT/CANADA WIDE

TV cameramen near Hagersville, a stretch limousine

Chopping at a province's image

British Columbia will likely be prominently featured in a *National Geographic* article on rain forests this fall—a prospect that does not excite provincial Environment Minister John Reynolds or local loggers. That is because environmentalist organizations guided writer Rowe Findley to Kyuquot Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. According to Findley, that area has been virtually cleared of long standing timber—an action that he described as the most environmentally damaging logging that he had seen while researching the article. Reynolds's response: he said that the Washington, D.C.-based publication should visit such Eastern Bloc countries as Czechoslovakia if it wanted truly devastating photographs of environmental damage. It would also mean that *National Geographic* cameras were pointed away from British Columbia.



T. EGERNEY/IMAGE FINDERS

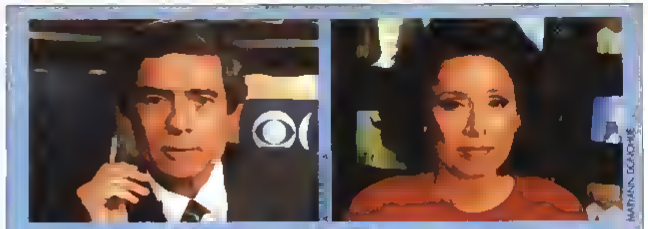
Logged land on Vancouver Island, evidence of damage

THE KEY TO A BALL-PARK DEAL

Operators of the Florida Suncoast Dome would be delighted if Charles Bronfman sold them the Montreal Expos—providing a major-league tenant for a $131-million domed stadium that will have its opening in St. Petersburg this week. Bronfman associates say privately that he became disenchanted with the team after the Expos faded to fourth place in their division last season. They add that Bronfman would indeed like to sell the Expos—but with one string attached: any new owner would have to keep the team in Montreal.

Notes from an artist in exile

Conductor Mstislav Rostropovich was in Moscow last month for the first time since his 1974 defection—the same year that Soviet authorities expelled Alexander Solzhenitsyn. After returning to Washington, Rostropovich revealed that he had delivered a message from Solzhenitsyn to the Kremlin: even with an invitation from Soviet rulers, he would only return when his 17 books were available throughout the country. That could mean an extended exile for the winner of the 1970 Nobel Prize for literature: the Moscow-based publishing house Sovetski Pisatel has just begun to print Solzhenitsyn's works.



MATHIAN, DOMOYNE

Rather; Frum, a missed flight connection and insurance against unruly hairdos

Anchors weigh in on foreign soil

The release of Nelson Mandela last month prompted such media heavyweights as CBS TV's Dan Rather and *The Journal*'s Barbara Frum to leave their anchor desks and travel to South Africa. Frum, who has her hair styled daily in Toronto, took along some insurance against unruly hairdos in the field—a wig. CBC staffers say that Frum also packed a wig when she went to the Soviet Union in November. Meanwhile, CBS employees say that the volatile Rather was angered when he arrived in London aboard the Concorde and found that his ticket for a connecting flight to Johannesburg had not shown up. According to CBS employees, Rather had to go to the counter and buy an economy-class ticket, which he later upgraded to a business-class seat. But a CBS spokesman claimed that Rather had taken the inconvenience in stride. Said the spokesman: "He is not the type that has to be babied. In fact, on a recent charter flight from Czechoslovakia to Rome, he slept on the floor of the plane." Life at the top sometimes gets bumpy.

HARD FIGHTING OVER FREE SPEECH

Two Quebec City media outlets, *Le Soleil* and radio station CHRC, are feuding over André Arthur, a controversial open-line host. In an unprecedented submission, Robert Normand, the daily newspaper's publisher, wants the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission to rescind the station's licence, arguing that the acid-tongued Arthur has ignored CRTC guidelines and maliciously attacked every major public figure in Quebec during his 19-year career at CHRC. Arthur and Normand are old foes: as Quebec's deputy minister of justice, Normand successfully sued Arthur for libel in 1981. And Arthur is still on the attack: in one broadside, he said that *Le Soleil* had "drab journalists who write a diorrhea of insignificance." Now that sounds like a good, clean fight.



POLITO/CANAPRESS

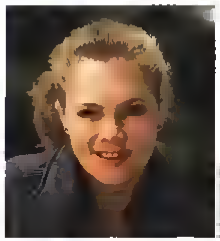
Going back to the basics

The Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada (APEC) has campaigned vigorously against the use of French in federal, provincial and municipal government offices in English-speaking Canada. In pursuit of that goal, the Toronto-based organization argues that official bilingualism is wasteful and unnecessary. But APEC recently tasted defeat in Sooke, a small community near Victoria, when it failed to persuade the school board to drop French-immersion classes. Instead, the trustees for School District #62 took out their marking pencils and scored the five-page brief that APEC representatives had submitted in support of their arguments. According to trustee Richard Williams, the brief contained 52 spelling and grammatical errors, among them such misspellings as "aparthied," "devisive" and "beaurocracy." Proper spelling and grammar also help preserve a language.

Language demonstration: no French, please

Brushing up a star

Kathleen Turner is currently gracing the cover of Vanity Fair in a cream-colored, low-cut dress. But staffers say that the New York City-based publication tried to increase sales by enhancing the movie star's cleavage. A Turner spokesman would not comment on their claim that the picture had been airbrushed, and an assistant to Vanity Fair art director Charles Churchward denied that any alteration had occurred. It is an issue that invites close scrutiny from the actor's fans.



PLATT/CANA

Turner, a low-cut dress



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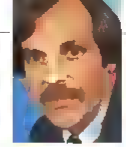
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Maclean's
THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

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Bulging veins as status symbols

BY CHARLES GORDON

Anybody with a car has had the experience. Driving along a city street, more or less obeying the speed limit, not dawdling, maybe going 60 when you should be going 50, and someoody is tailgating you. You glance in the rearview mirror at the offending driver and see The Look. It is the look of the Eighties, now carrying, it appears, into the Nineties. The driver looks worried, he looks angry, he looks tense, he looks like he's in a terrible hurry. The veins are bulging in his forehead. He looks like he would kill you if he could.

The Look tells you of the terrible urgency with which some people live their lives. It is not that they are late for work when they tailgate you like that. You could be driving along a residential street at 2 in the afternoon and have the same thing happen. It could be Sunday morning and people would still be running red lights, going through just after the yellow and just before they turn green the other way. The urgency is not caused by events. It is carried within.

We have given that inner urgency a name. It is called stress. By now, it is a famous name. For the stressed, there is no time to relax, to enjoy the drive, to leave some space behind the car in front. There is no pleasure in being away from the office, away from the phone. In fact, the guy with The Look may also be the guy with The Phone, one of those cellular jobs people carry with them in order not to waste a minute. When he leaves the car, he will take The Phone with him so that he can do something important, do business, instead of just walking down the street.

Strangely enough, the people who walk down the street talking on the phone don't seem resentful of having to do it. Instead of kicking themselves for being so stressed that they can't even window-shop a little bit, these victims of stress might even enjoy the image they are projecting of people too driven to stop and smell the espresso.

Charles Gordon is a columnist with The Ottawa Citizen.

It is possible that there are people out there suffering stress from worrying that they are not suffering enough stress

And why is that? Because we, as a society, have legitimized stress. First we gave it a name. Then we gave it a deluge of publicity. Four years ago, about the time stress hit big, there were 643 articles containing the word "stress" in *The Ottawa Citizen*. Last year, there were 813, of which only 22 also contained the word "fracture." Last year, there were 67 uses of the word "stress" in headlines in *The Toronto Star*. That means about every five days a *Toronto Star* reader would be reminded of the stressfulness of his existence. Is it any wonder that people have become so stress-conscious they become stressed just thinking about it?

Stress, we read every day, comes from the pressures of everyday life, particularly work life. It is a jungle in there, we are told. The race is to the swift. We watch people yell and scream and wave pieces of paper at the stock market. We watch people eat lunch at their desks. We watch arguments over parking spaces.

Away from the workplace, we watch as people go into panic mode over housing, over tickets to *Phantom of the Opera*, over cottage real estate, over educational opportunities for their children. Are these people ashamed of themselves for jostling each other in lineups, neglecting to say hello when they pass their friends in the street and having bulging veins in their foreheads? Not at all. In fact, many people probably *like* the idea of stress. They like to think of themselves as stressed people. It means, according to what our mass communications have been telling them, that they are trying hard, that they are fighting the odds. Conversely, if they are not stressed, it means that they are doing something wrong in their lives.

It is possible that there are people out there suffering stress from worrying that they are not suffering enough stress.

The newfound popularity of stress extends far past the workplace. Jogging—now usually called running—is less a romp in the park than a calculated assault on physical unfitness, complete with gadgets to measure heart rate and blood pressure. The Sunday afternoon bike ride has given way to a frantic 12-speed roaring-about conducted by sweaty people wearing spandex shorts and The Look. Stress is all around us, not least in the hearts of the Sunday strollers and puppy dogs forced off the path.

It has been clear for quite some time now that stress is not good for us. But because we have legitimized it, not everyone is going to pay attention to that fact. It is even possible that we have gone beyond legitimizing stress and have romanticized it. Stress is like alcohol and tobacco—recognized as harmful, yet seen as necessary by some. Just as generations of creative writers grew up thinking that alcoholism equalled creativity, so generations of business and professional people, students and athletes have come to think that stress equals effectiveness.

We can probably pinpoint the current Stress Era as beginning with Reaganism and Thatcherism—the renewal of the idea that it was good to compete, essential to win, and nothing to feel ashamed of if you happened to get your elbows up in a good cause. Furthermore, the measure of a person's worth was, once again, money. All of a sudden, it became all right to pursue money and a great disadvantage, bordering on disgrace, not to have it.

The notion of money as a measure of value is a stressful one, particularly for those who think they don't have enough of it—a group that includes most of the people on the planet. It puts an urgency into lives, causes desktop lunches, outdoor telephoning and rear-end collisions. It is not pleasant to ponder what the offspring of the stressed will be like when they grow up. Already, we are seeing some of the signs, in the relentless materialism of teenage consumers, in the fear and trembling that accompany university applications.

What is needed now, if we are not to have a second consecutive Stress Decade, is the acceptance of an older notion—that it is okay not to suffer stress, that it is acceptable to relax, that it is not fatal to be out of phone contact for hours, even days, and that there is nothing inherently virtuous in having the veins bulge on your forehead.

THE NEW 'RECRUITS'



Brampton-Malton delegate-selection meeting: accusations of cheating as organizers recruit 'instant Liberals'

ETHNIC GROUPS PLAY A KEY ROLE IN CHOOSING THE DELEGATES TO THE LIBERAL LEADERSHIP CONVENTION

Jagroop Dhaliwal could not name any of the candidates running for the federal Liberal leadership. But on Feb. 25 the Brampton, Ont., Grade 10 student stood in line at a local community centre with about 700 Liberals, most of them Sikhs, to elect 12 delegates to represent the riding of Brampton-Malton at the party's leadership convention in Calgary in June. The reason Dhaliwal's uncle, who is a friend of an organizer for candidate Paul Martin Jr., bought party memberships for Dhaliwal, his parents, four sisters, aunt and cousin and brought the family to the meeting. Asked whom he would support, Dhaliwal glanced furtively at a Martin campaign sticker on his denim jacket bearing the candidate's initials and said, "I'm voting for P.M." And like his nine family members in line with him, Dhaliwal carried a chart printed by the Martin campaign showing him which delegates to vote for.

The scene illustrated the aggressive tactics that organizers for some of the leadership candidates are using to recruit support in many of the 33 Toronto-area ridings, where delegate selection meetings began, as they did across Ontario, on Feb. 15 (meetings elsewhere in the country began on March 1). The powerful campaigns behind Montreal MP Martin and former Liberal cabinet minister Jean Chrétien, in particular, have enlisted the support of local leaders in the city's myriad ethnic groups. In some cases, organizers sell hundreds of party memberships and then fill riding delegate-selection meetings with the new recruits. That tactic is not new in previous campaigns, the last-minute members became widely known as "instant Liberals."

But last week, the emergence of the same tactics led to direct accusations of fraud: after the crowded Brampton meeting approved an all-Martin delegate slate, Chrétien's Ontario counsel Howard Levitt declared, "They were out-and-out cheating."

In fact, party rules permit leadership candidates to pack delegate meetings with their own supporters—as long as they are genuine members. Said one Chrétien volunteer, who requested anonymity: "A guy will sign up all his relatives, even his grandmother, and tell them how to vote. We do it and the Martin people do it." But some Liberal veterans continue to question the tactic's ethics. Said Seymour Iseman, Chrétien campaign counsel and past president of the party's Ontario wing: "We should be encouraging these people to join our party during the years between leadership races, not just asking to borrow their body for one night to vote in a meeting."

Still, organizers claim that mobilizing ethnic support is crucial to winning in Toronto, which will send about 400 delegates to the convention. Among the local power brokers who are marshalling support for candidates: MPs Joe Volpe and Albina Guarnieri, who are organizing Italians for Martin; Dr. Josip Gamulin, a Croatian community leader who is working for Martin and MP Jim Karygiannis, who is signing up Greek-Canadians for Chrétien. Meanwhile, the leadership race has split Toronto's Sikh community. Organizers Jasbir Singh Mangat and Jessie Mahal, who say they may lead up to 80 delegates to the convention, are working for Martin, while fellow Sikhs Gobinder Singh Randhawa and Kashmir Singh are helping Chrétien. By the end of last week, the two campaigns appeared to be roughly equal, each claiming that they had won more than 100 delegates in ridings across the province.

But Martin scored a number of early successes in Toronto due largely to his organizers' effective use of mass membership drives. The Brampton-Malton Liberal riding association, for one, had about 200 members before the recent recruiting drives got under way. Starting in early February, Gurjit Grewal, the past Liberal candidate in the riding, recruited 550 members, most of them Sikhs, for Chrétien. In the same period, Sikh organizers Mahal and Mangat recruited almost 900 new members for Martin. Then on Feb. 25, the day of the delegate vote, the pro-Martin forces used 25 taxis and vans to ferry their new Liberals from local Sikh temples and homes to the meeting. They also distributed a campaign leaflet written in Punjabi urging members to support Martin because the Montreal businessman had endorsed Sikhs' rights to wear turbans in the RCMP.

When 200 of the newly enlisted Liberals who supported Martin attempted to vote, party officials disqualified them after scrutineers working for Chrétien complained about irregularities in their memberships. Still, a pro-Martin slate of 12 Sikhs won 280 votes compared with 195 for the Chrétien slate, which also included six Sikhs. Chrétien workers later charged that the rejected Martin supporters had tried to cheat by voting once under their own name, and then lining up to vote again under a false name. On Feb. 28, the campaign filed a formal complaint and asked the Liberal party to overturn the results. Declared Levitt: "The Martin campaign indulged in such rampant cheating, it was impossible for us to scrutineer all of their members." But party officials rejected the submission, saying that it was incomplete because it was not accompanied by a $750 administrative fee. For his part, Mahal said, "Our campaign didn't cheat one per cent."

The Martin campaign has also tapped another local ethnic leader, Dr. Gamulin, a Croatian physician and community activist who is a friend of MP Guarnieri. Gamulin speaks frequently at Croatian social events and uses daily broadcasts in Croatian on an Indiana-based shortwave radio station with a large audience in southern Ontario to urge Croatians to join the Liberal party and support Martin. His influence was evident on Feb. 22 in the riding of Mississauga South, where about 100 Croatians helped elect 12 Martin supporters as delegates, five of them Croatians. Indeed, Gamulin says that he could mobilize up to 1,500 Croatians for the delegate meeting in the neighboring riding of Mississauga West if necessary. "We tell our people to get out of the Croatian ghetto and get involved. The more we do, the more politicians listen to our concerns."



Martin: 25 taxis and vans to ferry in the Sikhs

Even so, mass recruiting has made some traditional party members uneasy. Said Dieter Pagani, a member of Brampton-Malton's riding executive and a Chrétien supporter: "I don't like it because where are most of these new members going to be in three years when we need to do election work?" But Gamulin insists that the new members are devoted Liberals, even if they are not longtime party members. "Almost all of our community votes Liberal," he said. "They come out when you need them." And despite some Liberals' doubts about the practice, that loyalty will be welcomed by the leadership candidates for whom it may spell the difference between victory and defeat in Calgary.

PAUL KAIHLA

National Notes

REVIEWING A PULP MILL

Alberta Premier Donald Getty, acting on the chief recommendation of a joint federal-provincial environmental review panel, agreed to delay construction of Alberta-Pacific Forest Industries Inc.'s proposed $1.3-billion pulp mill in northern Alberta. The panel said that more studies are needed on the effect that toxins produced by pulp mills will have on the Athabasca and Peace River systems.

SCHOOL VIOLENCE

A 17-year-old youth, brandishing a semi-automatic handgun, wounded three students in a high school in Burlington, Ont., 45 km southwest of Toronto. The youth, apparently upset over a failed romance, shot his former girlfriend, her new boyfriend and her best friend—none of them critically. In an unrelated incident two days later, 44-year-old Donald Leon Gray entered the elementary school that his children attended in Calgary, went to a staff washroom and shot himself fatally. Minutes earlier, Gray had shot his estranged wife in the leg at her home and had fired a shot at one of his children—neither was seriously wounded.

BOWING OUT

Former Quebec environment minister Clifford Lincoln withdrew from the federal Liberal leadership race. Lincoln cited a lack of funds, and his loss in the Feb. 12 Chambly, Que., byelection, where he ran a poor second to the NDP's Philip Edmonston, as his reasons for dropping out.

DESK JOB FOR A JUDGE

Northwest Territories Judge Michel Bourassa will perform only administrative duties until the completion of an Alberta judge's inquiry into complaints against him. In December, Bourassa sparked outrage when he remarked that rape in the North was usually less violent than in southern Canada because it often occurred "when the woman is drunk and passed out." Added Bourassa: "The man comes along, sees a pair of hips and helps himself."

HEAVY WATER INCIDENT

Doctors said that the eight workers who drank from a lunchroom water cooler contaminated with radioactive heavy water at New Brunswick's Point Lepreau nuclear power plant have a slightly higher than average risk of contracting cancer. The RCMP were investigating the source of the contamination, which plant spokesmen said was likely done deliberately by an employee.

HOW TO SHARE A TOBLERONE:



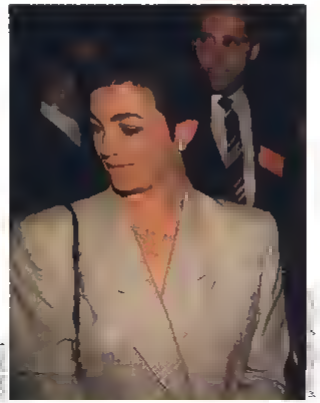
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Crosbie (left); Copps: 'Pass me the tequila, Sheila, and lie down and love me again'

Tequila hangover

A minister's ribald remark angers feminists

John Crosbie was in full flight at the federal Conservative party's fund-raising dinner in Victoria. Acting more like a stand-up comic than the federal minister of international trade, the Newfoundland MP was delivering a steady stream of one-liners to his appreciative and partisan audience—among them Mary Collins, the new minister responsible for the status of women. Then, Crosbie turned his attention to the Liberal leadership race—and to leadership candidate and Hamilton MP Sheila Copps. "It reminds me of a, I don't know whether you ever heard this old song," Crosbie mused. "It goes 'Pass me the tequila, Sheila, and lie down and love me again.'" The audience burst into guffaws, with Collins joining in. But by week's end, the laughter had been drowned out by a chorus of outrage. And in the end, even Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called Crosbie's remarks "unacceptable."

For some opposition MPs and spokeswomen for women's groups, Crosbie's comment had been more than simply unacceptable—and, they said, Collins's initial willingness to let it pass unremarked had sent the wrong signal during her first week in office. Halifax MP Mary Clancy, the Liberal party's critic on women's issues, said that Crosbie's remark carried an unacceptably sexist message. "Give a woman a couple of drinks . . . ," added Clancy. "I cannot believe that a senior minister could make this statement." For his part, Crosbie offered only a halfhearted apology. Noting the reaction that it had caused, Crosbie said of his flight of rhetoric, "It must have been ill-considered." But Collins was also busy reevaluating Crosbie's sense of humor. At the fund raiser, she had called the minister's speech "absolutely marvellous." Later, though, she told *Maclean's*: "When you take those lines and put them out boldly, it became apparent that they were offensive."

Still, the "Sheila" at the centre of the political storm, Copps remained relatively unperturbed by the incident. The 37-year-old MP has had previous run-ins with Crosbie. In 1985, Crosbie shouted, "Just quiet down, baby," in response to Copps's heckling of Tory speakers in the House of Commons—providing the title for her 1986 autobiography, *Nobody's Baby*. And last week, she said, "John Crosbie tends to open his mouth without having his brain in gear." Mulroney, meanwhile, offered a similar, if more tactfully phrased, explanation while saying that Crosbie would stay on as international trade minister. "If you got rid of all the politicians who put their feet in their mouths, there wouldn't be anybody left in the House of Commons," he said.

For the quick-tempered Crosbie, last week's incident was only one of many controversies that have dogged his career in politics. But many friends and Tory insiders say that the veteran cabinet minister is unlikely to run again in the next election. "If you hope some day to run for prime minister, you try to be careful," noted St. John's, Nfld., author and open-line radio show host Wilham Rowe, a former member of the Newfoundland House of Assembly who has known Crosbie since the 1960s. "But I get the impression that he knows he's nearing the end of the line, politically." As for last week's contentious quip, Rowe added: "I'm sure he wishes he hadn't said it. But a part of him probably doesn't give a damn."

But for Collins, who also serves as associate defence minister, the incident signalled an uncomfortable beginning to her new duties. She inherited the status of women portfolio from employment and immigration minister Barbara McDougall just three days after the Feb. 20 federal budget laid out $1.6 million in cuts to women's programs. The majority of those cuts—$1.4 million—are aimed at 80 women's centres across the country, many of which provide counselling for poorer women, health advice and shelter for those who have been physically abused.

Those cuts have led some critics to question the government's commitment to women's issues. And the appointment of Collins, who, unlike McDougall, has no seat on the powerful inner committees of cabinet, has only underscored that concern. "In a way, it is an accurate reflection of this government's attitude to women," said Janet Maher, treasurer of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. "Barbara McDougall was not always our best friend. But at least we knew that if she got wound up about something, she could take it to the highest table in the land."

But Maher said that she found it difficult to criticize Collins's failure to respond to Crosbie's statement at the Victoria function. "Let's face it—it's incredibly difficult to challenge those sorts of remarks in that kind of situation," she said. And although she added that the "jury is still out" on Collins, the new minister is known to be a staunch defender of women's rights. In fact, last week she publicly said that she had "real concern" about the budgetary cuts to women's programs—an apparent breach of cabinet solidarity that Maher said could cause her trouble with fellow ministers. Added Maher: "This government doesn't tolerate dissent very well in its own ranks."

Still, Collins told *Maclean's* last week that she had not split from the rest of the cabinet over the cuts. "I recognize that we have to get our deficit down, and women's programs obviously have to pay their fair share." But she also signalled her intention to try to get funds reallocated within the budget for women's groups. And she noted that concerns about her effectiveness in cabinet were, at this point, unfair. "I know the inner mechanisms of government, and I intend to do my job by building support among my colleagues," she pledged.

But, as she completed her first week as status of women minister, Collins also acknowledged that so far her new job had not been easy. "I guess it's like being plunged into the pool right away," she noted. "I obviously wish the [Crosbie] incident hadn't occurred, but I recognize that in this job you really are on the front line." In a portfolio that can often be a political hot seat, that is a reality that Collins will have to learn to live with.

PEETER KOPVILLEM *with* **ROSS LAVER** *in Ottawa*

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CANADA IN CRISIS

THE DISSOLUTION OF CANADA INTO SEMI-INDEPENDENT STATES STRIKES MANY AS AN APPALLING PROSPECT

For people who remember the October Crisis of 1970, the victory of the Parti Québécois in 1976 and the referendum campaign of 1980, questions about the survival of Canada may seem painfully familiar. We have been through all of this before, many English-speaking Canadians respond wearily, and each time the country has held together. Others view the prospect of a divided Canada with studied nonchalance. If Quebec wants out, they say, let them go—and good riddance. In Ottawa, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and an elite guard of senior bureaucrats huddle in an eleventh-hour bid to rescue the government's cherished Meech Lake constitutional accord—the death of which, they warn, would have serious and possibly irreversible consequences for the future of the country. But how many people share that sense of foreboding?

Not many, to judge by the events of the past week. With less than four months to go before the anticipated June 23 deadline for ratification of Meech Lake, Quebec's Liberal party tried once again to raise the alarm. Meeting in Quebec City, the party's general council for the first time openly considered the province's options in the event—seemingly more likely by the day—that the accord fails. The result was a unanimous decision to consider "alternative scenarios" to the existing federal system—one of which, delegates to the convention made clear, was sovereignty. "Quebecers have reached the threshold of tolerance," declared Gil Rémillard, the province's minister of intergovernmental affairs. "We will not turn the other cheek." (page 20)

'Sabre-rattling': And yet, in the rest of Canada, Premier Robert Bourassa's vow not to practise federalism "on bended knee" prompted more shrugs of dismissal than cries of alarm. Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon, whose province has yet to ratify the constitutional accord, dismissed Bourassa's remark as "sabre-rattling" and insisted that his province would not be stampeded into approving Meech Lake by threats of Quebec separation. Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, who has threatened to rescind his province's approval of the accord, was also unimpressed. 'I don't think it comes as any surprise,' Wells said of Quebec's position. "I don't attach any special significance to it."

There are others who say that Canada is hurtling towards a constitutional precipice. But they offer conflicting views of whether Meech Lake is the remedy to that impending crisis or its cause. "It is probable," said journalist and historian Bruce Hutchison recently, "that 1990 will be the most crucial year in this country's history." The failure to adopt Meech Lake, according to Hutchison, is likely to send Canada into the next century in fragments. Former Liberal prime minister Pierre Trudeau, in comments taken from a forthcoming book and printed in several newspapers late last week, predicted that adoption of the same accord would lead Canada to "peace and reconciliation—the kind to be found in the graveyards of the deep' (page 28).

But beyond the ranks of the political elite, many English-speaking Canadians say that their patience with the constitutional wrangling has run out. They no longer care whether Quebec stays or goes. Linguistic hostility—of the sort that has led more than 40 communities in Ontario to declare themselves unilingually English—undoubtedly contributes to the growing mood of apathy. But many people have simply grown weary of the constant sniping between French and English Canada. "Better a divorce, I think, than a marriage in name only," novelist Mordecai Richler told a Toronto audience last week. "Canada is supposed to be a country, not a convenience store."

In fact, Canada has always been a marriage more of convenience than love, a partnership born of mutual expediency rather than a unifying ideology or national myth. But as the country evolves, its regions share fewer economic and political interests than they once did. Mulroney's critics charge that the year-old Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement has helped to unravel the fabric of the nation by committing the country to a north-south trading relationship. But changes in the global economy have eroded east-west trade as well.

In its drive to contain the deficit, meanwhile, the Conservative government has pledged to sell the publicly owned oil company, Petro-Canada, and cut back its spending on what many Canadians regard as symbols of national sovereignty—among them Via Rail, the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. and the armed forces. Countless other spending reductions—including the withdrawal of federal funds for the Oslo oil-sands project in northern Alberta and the cancellation of plans to construct the Polar 8 icebreaker in British Columbia, both contained in the Feb. 20 budget—have aggravated regional tensions. Indeed, two of the country's wealthiest provinces, Ontario and British Columbia, said last week that they were ready to take Ottawa to court in an attempt to prevent it from acting on its plan, announced in the budget, to limit the growth in transfer payments to the provinces. "In the 1960s and 1970s, governments had it easy," said Tory MP Donald Blenkarn, chairman of the House of Commons finance committee. "If people in one region were squawking, the feds just opened the money tap. I wish we could afford to do the same thing, but we can't."

Insistent: In the long run, the clash of regional interests may prove even more destructive than the constant battles over language. In the Atlantic region, as well as in the West and the North, the long-standing complaints that the country's affairs are unfairly dominated by Quebec's constitutional demands and Ontario's economy are becoming more insistent. "I am deeply troubled by what is happening today, and it goes far beyond language," said Donald Savoie, a University of Moncton professor and the author of several highly acclaimed books on public spending. "Canadians in the Atlantic provinces and the West have never been more convinced that they are losing out and that national policies are devised solely for southern Ontario."

But if there is an increasing sense of ambivalence about national identity, there is also a growing confidence that the regions—particularly Quebec, Ontario and the West—could survive economically on their own. "Quebec's business class is far less dependent on the banks in Toronto than it was 15 or 20 years ago," said Richard Simeon, a political scientist at Queen's University. Added Bernard Roy, a former principal secretary to Mulroney and now a prominent Montreal lawyer: "People here no longer believe that independence would mean collective economic suicide. If you speak to the guy in the street, he has an enormous amount of pride in what Quebec has achieved. The feeling is, 'We have the tools to go it alone.'" In Ontario, Attorney General Ian Scott even mused that if Confederation did dissolve, his province might contemplate entering into a new, two-province union with Quebec that could exclude the rest of present-day Canada (page 24).

'Catastrophe': Similarly, fewer English-Canadian businesses appear frightened by the prospect of a divided nation. "I just wonder how much would really change if the country split up," said Adam Zimmerman, chairman and chief executive officer of Toronto-based Noranda Forest Inc., the country's largest forest-products conglomerate. "I suppose it would be a catastrophe for the Atlantic provinces, but in the rest of the country I doubt that it would make much of a difference." Most firms, he added, would probably learn to adapt to the change in circumstances.

Perhaps Canadians are not so much complacent about the prospects of a looser federation as they are resigned to its seeming inevitability. "Even if the Meech Lake debate is resolved, the question of making our federal structures accommodate the realities of a new Quebec will not disappear," said Peter Desbarats, dean of journalism at the University of Western Ontario and a former reporter who covered the nationalist struggles in Quebec during the 1960s. 'The bonds between Quebec and the rest of the country are weakening. If I look ahead 20 or 25 years, I see a very different kind of Confederation—one that is much more of a pact between Quebec and English Canada."

Rush: If Desbarats is right, all of the political rhetoric about deadlines and ultimatums misses the point. Bourassa himself has raised the possibility of a new "superstructure" to replace Confederation (page 22). It may have been no coincidence that he did so during a recent visit to Western Europe, where the rush towards a single market in 1992 is predicated on the belief that economic union is not incompatible with political sovereignty. "Bourassa spent a couple of years in Brussels in the mid-1970s, and I think he was intrigued by what he saw there," Roy said. The dissolution of Canada into semi-independent states strikes many Canadians as an appalling prospect. But Bourassa at least is talking—and thinking—about what will happen next if Meech Lake goes down the drain. And that is something that many other Canadians, weary of language wars and the seemingly endless constitutional debate, have yet to do.

ROSS LAVER *in Ottawa*



Winter in the capital: warnings of serious consequences

A GROWING SENSE OF ALIENATION

QUEBECERS REVIEW THEIR OPTIONS

Stephen Leopold is a member of what is loosely termed the "Anglo" community in Montreal. At 38, he runs a successful commercial real estate business from a sumptuous suite of offices atop a downtown skyscraper overlooking the city, where his family has resided for the past eight generations. The company that he founded and owns is one of the largest in its field in Canada. He is not the kind of individual who happily contemplates the prospect of the province where he was born drifting away from the rest of the country. But that is precisely the conclusion he is reluctantly coming to. "It is a rotten shame," he told *Maclean's* last week. "But it is becoming clearer by the day that some new kind of order may be evolving in this country. My feeling is that if it's going to happen, then let's get on with it. There's not much more that Quebec can lose. And maybe—just maybe—there might be something to gain."

Distaste: Leopold's vision of Canada's future, and Quebec's role in that future, is one that an increasing number of Quebecers seem to be sharing. They are not only the ardent nationalists and convinced separatists of an earlier era, the stalwarts of the Parti Québécois (PQ) and the St. Jean Baptiste Society who have never abandoned their distaste for Quebec's participation in Canada. The Quebecers who seem to be growing disenchanted now are a different breed, and far more numerous. They can be found at every economic level of the French-speaking majority, among Montreal taxi drivers and the farmers of the St. Lawrence valley as well as among the political and business elite—both French- and English-speaking. Their common complaint: that Canada is becoming unworkable.

Quebec's francophones are coming around to that view largely in visceral reaction to the wave of anti-French, anti-Quebec sentiment that they perceive in the rest of Canada. Quebec politicians, meanwhile, are grappling to come to terms with the developing mood. Many of Quebec's business leaders, meanwhile, buoyed by newly acquired self-confidence and fed up with endless constitutional wrangling, no longer fear the impact that Quebec's separation might have on its economy. As Claude Castonguay, a former Quebec cabinet minister and president of the Laurentian Group, a financial services company, remarked in a recent speech, "Like it or not, we are at a crossroads."

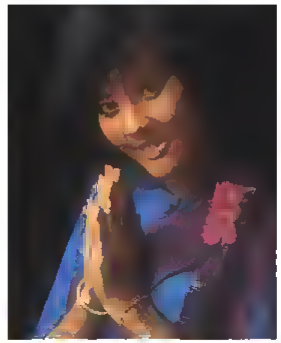
At the core of the debate lies the Meech Lake accord that would secure Quebec's full participation in the Constitution, eight years after the PQ government of René Lévesque refused to endorse the 1982 Constitution Act. The national debate over whether to adopt the accord has touched a raw nerve inside Quebec, uncovering emotions that have little to do with the specifics of constitutional reform. In several recent opinion surveys, a majority of Quebecers have said that they would regard English Canada's rejection of Meech Lake as



CHRISTOPHER MORRIS

Parizeau: 'If people want sovereignty, they will go and see the sovereignists'

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amounting to a rejection of Quebec as a partner in the Canadian federation. A recent Sorecom poll for one, indicated that 58 per cent of Quebecers are prepared to support some form of sovereignty should the Meech Lake accord fail. Indeed, late last week, another polling firm, Montreal-based Léger and Léger, reported that 58.4 per cent of 1,031 respondents to a survey it conducted in February expressed support for sovereignty regardless of the outcome of Meech Lake.

Inescapable. Even federalists in Quebec find the message contained in such responses inescapable. "Better a Canada with Meech Lake than no Canada at all," former federal cabinet minister Francis Fox, now president of the Quebec branch of the federal Liberal party, remarked recently. "If Meech fails, then we're on our way to a very different kind of constitutional setup in Canada." If the Meech accord dissolves, Fox added, "the middle class [in Quebec] would become much more amenable to sovereignty. And, as we know, independence movements are made by the middle class."

Ovation: In fact, Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberal party may already have taken the first tentative steps towards independence. Meeting from Feb. 23 to 25 in Quebec City, the party's governing general council voted to establish a committee to study Quebec's options if the Meech Lake accord is not ratified by the generally accepted deadline of June 23. Bourassa took care to stress that the decision was not an attempt to "dismantle the country," adding that a role in Canada remained Quebec's "first choice." But he won a standing ovation from his audience of 600 Liberal delegates with a ringing declaration that the party had not received "a mandate to practise federalism on our knees." By contrast, no one from the party—the only major party in the province still officially committed to federalism—made any move to declare unconditional support for the existing form of Confederation.

But Bourassa's remarks drew immediate criticism from beyond Quebec's borders. "I think Mr. Bourassa is looking to separate Quebec from the rest of the Canadian family," declared Manitoba's staunchly anti-Meech Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs. But to most observers inside Quebec, the Liberal premier's statements merely reflected a finely tuned set of political antennas. Noted Alain Dubuc, chief editorialist of the Montreal daily *La Presse*: "Mr. Bourassa is talking about after Meech now because he no longer has any choice. He is not trying to save the ship anymore; he is trying to save the castaways."

The twin prospects of a hardening of Quebec nationalism and a beleaguered Robert Bourassa plainly delight the separatist PQ's current leader, Jacques Parizeau. In the wake of the Liberals' weekend convention, Parizeau observed that once Quebecers become persuaded that sovereignty is in their interests, they will not be likely to seek it from the Liberals. "When you have a sore tooth," Parizeau quipped, "you go and see a dentist, not a shoemaker. If people want sovereignty, they will go and see the sovereignists."

Carstairs: anti-Meech



But it is not only Quebec politicians who are taking heed of the changing mood in their province. More than 1,000 business and professional leaders have joined Castonguay's month-old Association in Favor of Meech Lake. The membership encompasses the province's corporate elite, both French- and English-speaking. For many, their motivation appears to lie less in the value of the accord itself than in a desire to end the debate that is diverting time and attention away from what many executives say is a far more pressing concern: the state of the economy. Montreal developer Philip O'Brien, a member of the pro-Meech Lake association's governing committee, noted, "For most businessmen, the content of the agreement is secondary to the requirement to finally resolve this endless constitutional debate."

Propelled by such concerns, Quebec's business leaders have begun to exert themselves to persuade the opponents of Meech Lake to change their view. For his part, O'Brien returned to Montreal this week from his second visit in as many months to meet Newfoundland Liberal Premier Clyde Wells, who has threatened to rescind the approval that his province gave Meech Lake in July, 1988, under Wells's Tory predecessor, Brian Peckford. He said that the trip, like the earlier one, was fruitless. "Wells is a missionary," O'Brien told *Maclean's* on his return. "He told me he would rather live in the 51st state [of the United States] than in a Canada under Meech." Added O'Brien in a flash of anger: "He represents as many people as you could get together for a large football game, but he's willing to see the country go down."

Miracle. But O'Brien's remark is indicative of another trend that is taking shape among Quebec's business leaders. Like the province's politicians, the business class is coming to the view that, with June 23 fast approaching, only a political miracle is likely to save Meech Lake. Faced with that prospect, the corporate elite is now willing to consider what was previously out of the question: the prospect of going back to the beginning to work out an entirely new constitutional framework for Quebec's continued relations with the other nine provinces. Indeed, some go further. One poll conducted by the Quebec business magazine *Commerce*, published last month, suggested that 56 per cent of the 566 respondents, most of whom are thought to be senior managers, favored a sovereign Quebec.

For committed federalists like Stephen Leopold, such findings offer dispiriting evidence that the battle for Canada is being lost. "The rest of Canada does not seem to understand that there is simply no possibility of compromise on Meech Lake," he glumly remarked as he sat behind his desk on the 33rd floor of Montreal's Place Ville-Marie office tower. "Either Meech Lake is ratified and Canada goes on or Meech Lake is not ratified. Which will mean that Canada as we have known it will no longer be—ever again." That view may be bleak. It may not even be accurate. But it is one that is heard with growing frequency among the seven million residents of Quebec.

BARRY CAME *in Montreal*

WHAT THE MEECH LAKE ACCORD SAYS

The Meech Lake accord would alter significantly the way the federal and provincial governments share powers and responsibilities. Some of the key proposals:

ON QUEBEC
Gives the province the right to "preserve and promote" its character as a "distinct society."

ON NATIONAL PROGRAMS
Provides for financial compensation for provinces that create their own programs to match national programs in areas of provincial jurisdiction.

ON THE SUPREME COURT
Allows provinces to provide lists of new Supreme Court justice nominees, from which the Prime Minister makes the final selection, reserves three places on the bench for Quebec.

ON THE SENATE
Allows provinces to provide lists of new Senate nominees, from which the Prime Minister must make the final selection.

ON IMMIGRATION
Allows provinces to set their own policies within overall targets set by Ottawa.

ON THE AMENDING FORMULA
Expands the types of constitutional changes that would require unanimous provincial consent to include, among other things, Senate reform and the creation of new provinces.

BOURASSA TURNS UP THE HEAT

'I AM NOT TRYING TO THREATEN ANYONE'

Over the past 12 months, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa has said repeatedly that if the Meech Lake accord fails, Quebec will re-examine its role in Confederation. Then, at the Quebec Liberal party's general council meeting in Quebec City from Feb. 23 to 25, the 600 delegates took a concrete step in that direction, voting unanimously to establish a party committee to study constitutional alternatives to the accord. Among them is certain to be the question of Quebec sovereignty. Last week, Maclean's Montreal Bureau Chief Barry Came spoke to Bourassa about the constitutional impasse and the options open to him should Meech Lake fail.

Maclean's: *Have you all but written off any hope of the Meech Lake accord's being ratified?*

Bourassa: No. The priority of my government is the same as it has always been—to work for the ratification of the Meech Lake accord. But it is far from certain at the present time that the deal will be ratified. We have to prepare ourselves for that. I would not be living up to my responsibilities if I was not prepared for any eventuality—it is only common sense.

I am concerned about providing a good standard of living for the people of Quebec, about jobs, about development, about the environment. These I think are the proper concerns for the 1990s. When I saw a chance to put Quebec's constitutional problems behind us so that we could get on with other things, I took advantage of the opportunity. I formulated five minimum demands, all of which had been offered to Quebec at one time or another. I presented a program that I thought both Quebec and Canada could live with comfortably. That was 3½ years ago. The problem is still with us.

Maclean's: *You recently said that you had no mandate to, as you put it, practise federalism on your knees. Why did you use such strong language?*

Bourassa: Did you really find that language strong? I do not think it was, not when you consider some of the things that have been said in this province over the last 30 years. No Quebec premier could say less. I'm always being accused here of being too moderate. When I first took Quebec's five minimum demands to Ottawa, people in Quebec said that I was being careless with the judgment of history, that I was toying with Quebec's interests, that I was not taking my responsibilities seriously. So there was nothing really exciting in what I said.

Maclean's: *Some people say that you are bluffing to stampede opinion into accepting Meech Lake. How do you respond to that?*



CHRISTOPHER ROSS

Bourassa: 'I'm always accused of being too moderate'

Bourassa: Anyone who thinks I am bluffing simply does not understand the situation in Quebec at the moment. I can assure you that I am not bluffing. I am not trying to threaten anyone—I am simply stating the obvious.

Maclean's: *You have spoken recently about the emergence of a new political "superstructure" in Canada. What are you referring to?*

Bourassa: It was in Germany that I made that statement. I was responding to the concerns expressed by European investors about the long-term economic stability of both Quebec and Canada. Since I could not assure these people that the Meech Lake accord would be ratified, I wanted to tell them that their investments were safe here no matter what happened. And that is true. All Quebecers, all Canadians for that matter, want economic stability. All I was saying is that we would take steps to make sure that there was economic stability in this country—whatever happens. I was not thinking in any specific way of alternative scenarios for Canada. It is simply a concept that Europeans understand since they are heavily involved at the moment in constructing new political superstructures themselves in connection with the integration of the European Community as well as the events that are transpiring in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Maclean's: *Is the possibility of some kind of future economic partnership between Quebec and Ontario under consideration?*

Bourassa: Nothing is under consideration right now. All of these kinds of questions will be studied by the committee we are establishing—but only if Meech Lake fails. If Meech Lake is ratified, none of these options will be studied. There will be no need.

Maclean's: *Gil Rémillard, your minister of intergovernmental affairs, has proposed a deal to commit the premiers and Ottawa to discuss remaining constitutional concerns when Meech Lake is passed. Is that an attempt at compromise to win over those opposed to Meech Lake?*

Bourassa: There is nothing new in this. We have always said that we are prepared to consider all of those things that are of concern to people—Senate reform, aboriginal rights, language rights, the status of women, new provinces—once Meech Lake is passed. Nothing is excluded. Everybody seems to have lost sight of the fact that we are already committed to attending another federal-provincial conference next November. We can deal with all of these items at that time if Meech Lake is ratified.

Maclean's: *If Meech Lake is not ratified, what will prevent you from going back to the negotiating table?*

Bourassa: What I have already presented—those five demands—are the end result of a long process of compromise. They are the bare minimum. I cannot return. I would be the laughing-stock of Quebec.

Maclean's: *Is the country on the brink of destruction?*

Bourassa: It is a difficult moment. But it is not the first one in this country's history. As I have said, I think the Meech Lake accord offers a unique opportunity for Canada. If it is accepted, Canada could be a great country. If it is rejected, it is hard to predict the consequences. □

"They forced me against a car, handcuffed me from behind my back and tossed me in the back seat of their pickup truck."



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Maclean's

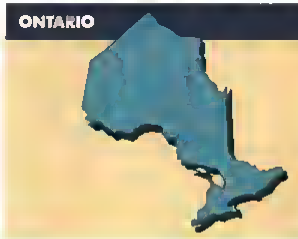
THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

'WE COULD END UP LIKE A DIVIDED PAKISTAN'

In Quebec, Premier Robert Bourassa has talked about a new "political superstructure" that could replace Confederation. In Ontario, Attorney General Ian Scott said last week that a future government in his province could strengthen its ties to Quebec if the latter turned its back on the rest of the country. As pessimism about national unity grows, Canadians are weighing the consequences if the constitutional accord fails. Maclean's assesses the mood in each of Canada's diverse regions

ONTARIO





CANADA WIDE

Scott: 'There is a historical bonding between Ontario and Quebec predating Confederation by 100 years'

When voters of Kingston, in what was then called Canada West, first elected John A. Macdonald to represent them in 1844, they sent their new member not to Ottawa but to Montreal. At the time, that city was the seat of government for the Province of Canada, present-day Ontario and Quebec. The British colony had co-premiers and, in later years, alternated its capital between Quebec City and Toronto about every four years. That was one of several arrangements for joint government, which the two regions shared between 1763, when Britain and France signed the treaty that ended the Seven Years' War, and Confederation in 1867. And now, with Quebec's future in Confederation in doubt, some Ontarians say that their province's destiny lies with Quebec rather than Canada. "People shouldn't assume that there will be nine provinces left if Quebec separates," Ontario Attorney General Ian Scott told *Maclean's*. "There is a natural economic and historic bonding between the two provinces, which predates Confederation by 100 years."

Scott emphasized that those were only his personal views and added that no negotiations have taken place between the two largest provinces on a bilateral agreement if the Meech Lake accord should fail. Instead, Scott said, his government is concentrating its energies on convincing the three provinces that now reject the accord to change their positions. But Scott said that if Quebec secedes, Ontario could be forced to consider some kind of union with it—or face absorption into the United States. "If the issue becomes 'How can a new non-American nation be founded in the northern half of the continent?', inevitably, the futures of Quebec and Ontario are linked," said Scott.

But there may be disagreement within the province about the merits of a Quebec-Ontario union. Pollster Allan Gregg, chairman of Decima Research and an adviser to the federal Conservative party, noted that Ontario contains highly diverse political cultures and that support for closer ties with French Canada is highest in southern Ontario. "It has one of the richest and best-educated populations in the world," said Gregg. "They can afford to be generous toward Quebec." But Gregg said there is less tolerance for French Canada in eastern and Northern Ontario. For his part, Sault Ste. Marie Mayor Joseph Fratesi said that Quebec's separation would not constitute a crisis for the rest of Canada. "I hope they don't separate," said Fratesi. "But if they do, the rest of Canada will just have to say, 'We tried our best.'"

Still, the two provinces are intricately intertwined economically. Thomas Courchene, director of Queen's University's School of Policy Studies in Kingston, called Ontario and Quebec "a connected corridor" with shared transportation and telecommunications systems that include rail lines, the St. Lawrence Seaway and the Bell telephone network. "The Ontario corporate interest is to put Quebec-Ontario economic relations above any economic relationships with the rest of the country," said Courchene. "It's in the collective interest of Ontario, even though many individuals would be very angry about it."

Some Ontario businessmen agreed that one course of action for their province would be to negotiate a free trade agreement with Quebec if it separated. "It would make a hell of a lot of sense," said Mervyn Lahn, chairman of London, Ont.-based Canada Trust. But Desmond Morton, a history professor at the University of Toronto, said that any such arrangement would run aground on economic rivalry. "Ontario and Quebec are, and will remain, fierce competitors for American markets," said Morton. "What's the basis for an association?" Morton's own prediction if Quebec did separate: "All I foresee is chaos." He added, "The minute one province left, the rest would follow because there would no longer be a nation from sea to sea."

PRAIRIES





MIKE PINDER

Filmon: Only a 12-per-cent approval rating for Meech Lake

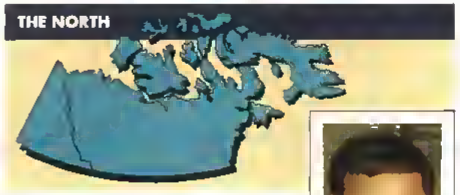
The Prairies are the hotbed of anti-Meech Lake sentiment. Indeed, in a February poll conducted by Winnipeg-based Angus Reid Group, a bare 12 per cent of respondents from the three provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba approved of the accord, compared with 26 per cent of Canadians overall. And many westerners clearly understand the possible consequences of their opposition to the agreement. Anti-Meech opinion is especially strong in Alberta and Manitoba, where Premier Gary Filmon remains one of the holdouts to the accord. "We used to say, 'No way would Quebec separate,'" said Campbell Watkins, president of Calgary-based DataMetrics Ltd., an economic consulting company. "Today if Meech Lake goes down...it is a realistic possibility."

Underlying those feelings is western impatience with what is widely seen as Quebec's continued demands for preferential treatment. Said Calgary lawyer John Webb: "One common response now to Quebec is, 'Don't threaten us anymore.'" Webb added that he was confident Canada would continue to exist as a country without Quebec—and that Alberta would remain in Confederation.

But for others, the antipathy towards Quebec also extends to Central Canada in general. Many westerners are deeply angered over Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's refusal to appoint Stanley Waters, the winner of Alberta's unprecedented Senate nomination election last Oct. 16, to the upper house. "Can you imagine explaining our democracy to a Chinese student who faced down a tank on Tiananmen Square," said Calgary economist Thomas Sindlinger, "and having to explain that the government refuses to appoint our elected Senate candidate?"

For his part, Sindlinger raised the possibility that the West would ultimately gravitate towards the United States. "There would be more independence south," he said. "There is no reason for us to carry around Ontario." Others say that the West could become a separate political force. Said Hilton Westmore, leader of the Alberta Independence Party: "Alberta could go it alone. But ultimately, it would be the four western provinces. Whatever options the region may pursue, one thing is clear: with the heated debate over Quebec, many westerners are profoundly dissatisfied with their own place in Confederation.

THE NORTH





BOSKO ADJ / CANAPRESS

Patterson: 'The prospect of a new international border within Canada is very alarming to us'

Comprising about 40 per cent of the landmass of Canada but accounting for only 75,000 of its citizens, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories have traditionally harbored a sense of isolation from the political mainstream of the country. The negotiation of the Meech Lake accord without the participation of either territory increased that feeling. Both territories aspire to provincehood, but the accord would give all 10 premiers a veto over the creation of any new province, compared with the situation now, requiring the consent of Ottawa and two-thirds of the provinces with more than 50 per cent of the population. Still, the potential demise of Meech Lake and speculation about the possible breakup of the country disappoint most northerners. Acknowledged N.W.T. Government Leader Dennis Patterson: "Despite our chronic concerns about the insensitivity of the central government, we recognize our dependence on it."

Indeed, both territorial governments receive more than 70 per cent of their revenues through transfer payments from Ottawa—support that Patterson fears could be eroded if Quebec separates. As well, Patterson points out that Quebec serves as the chief supply point and transportation link for the vast eastern Arctic region centred on Baffin Island. And the Inuit people of the Northwest Territories share close cultural ties with the Inuit of northern Quebec.

At the same time, there appears to be little support among northerners for economic or political union with the United States. Said Yukon NDP Government Leader Tony Penikett: "I think there would be enough of us to carry on and fight for the kind of Canada that puts more emphasis on things like peace and the environment than the Americans do." Still, some northerners say that Quebec's separation might provide them with new opportunities. Noted Yukon Conservative Opposition Leader Willard Phelps: "Once the concerns of Quebec are settled, there will be some time available to deal with regions like the North that have been largely ignored."

ATLANTIC





MIKE PINDER

Ghiz: 'What happens if Quebec passes a resolution that alters its relationship to the rest of Canada?'

The issue united even two men locked in a bitter war of words over the fate of Atlantic Canada's troubled fishery. Last week Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan and Canso, N.S., Mayor Raymond White, who has charged Buchanan with not doing enough to save the town's threatened fish plant, found common cause on one issue. They agreed that current tensions between Quebec and English Canada have placed the nation in peril. Rising in the legislature on Monday, an impassioned Buchanan declared: "English Canada has not yet grappled with the question of whether it wants to live without Quebec." Declared White: "The intolerance we seem to have for each other's language and culture troubles me. I'm worried about our country."

Across Atlantic Canada, politicians and citizens are starting to evaluate the consequences if the Meech Lake accord is allowed to die. "What happens if Quebec passes a resolution that would alter its relationship to the rest of the country?" said P.E.I. Premier Joseph Ghiz. "What are the national, international and economic implications?" Some say that those implications could be grave for a region already separated geographically from the rest of English Canada by Quebec. Said White: "I could see our country ending up like a divided Pakistan with India in the middle. We could be swallowed up by the United States—and that would be unacceptable." Added Elsie Wayne, mayor of Saint John, N.B.: "The United States is going to look real good to us, isn't it?"

Other Atlantic Canadians say that, even if the east remained part of a Canada without Quebec, the altered balance of power could have major drawbacks for the region. In particular, many Atlantic Canadians fear for the so-called equalization payments by which Ottawa transfers tax money from British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario to poorer provinces in order to ensure that social services remain roughly equivalent across the country. Stephen Tomblin, a political science professor at Newfoundland's Memorial University, argues that the secession of Quebec would give increased power to the western provinces—and that they might decline to continue participating in such payments at the current level. Noted Tomblin: "If you remove Quebec, the West has a different interest in the redistribution of wealth in the welfare state."

For their part, officials in the government of Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, who has threatened to rescind his province's approval of Meech Lake unless it is changed, argue that accepting the accord in its present form, with Quebec defined as a "distinct society," would radically alter Canada. Said Kevin Aylward, Liberal party whip in the Newfoundland legislature: "The Meech Lake proposal means Quebec will be a

separate entity One way or the other, the country is unravelling" Still, most eastern Canadians are keenly aware of the fact that Canada has survived previous threats to its existence Said Carmon Stone, for one a history teacher at Halifax's Queen Elizabeth High School "Our history has been one of constant reaffirmation of our dream of being one country The Quebec issue will ultimately be resolved ' In the face of the uncertainty currently gripping the country, that is a remarkable avowal of national faith

BRITISH COLUMBIA





ANN F. COX

Vander Zalm: Constitutional proposals that reflect the province's concern with regional distinctiveness

From his offices in Vancouver's World Trade Centre, Michael Goldberg commands a magnificent view of Burrard Inlet and the snowcapped mountains of North Vancouver In his position as executive director of the city's International Financial Centre, Goldberg's world view includes British Columbia s emerging role in financial and trade relations with the Asian countries of the Pacific Rim and the United States But it is as an immigrant to Canada that the New York City-born economist has a unique perspective on his adopted country and the divisive forces now menacing its future Said Goldberg "People born here take so many things for granted about Canada If Quebec moves to some type of sovereignty-association, I cannot imagine any argument for saying that what is left is better than the previous arrangement

Many British Columbians clearly share that view, in spite of the fact that the province has a tradition of bristling over its 1871 inclusion in Confederation As late as the 1940s, premier T Dufferin Pattulo's correspondence to the national capital was dotted with references to 'going it alone " And although that separatist sentiment has been dormant for the past 50 years, residents of the province west of the Rocky Mountains still view themselves as different from their fellow citizens In fact, Simon Fraser University history professor Robin Fisher, a specialist in British Columbia's past, noted that Premier William Vander Zalm's proposal to break the Meech Lake impasse by declaring all of the provinces and not just Quebec to be distinct societies was "an expression of the historical mood of British Columbia " Added Fisher "That sense of regional distinctiveness has not gone away "

British Columbia's growing focus on trade with the Pacific Rim and the United States has contributed to that sentiment In 1988 38 per cent of provincial exports went to the Pacific Rim and another 43 per cent to the United States Ten years earlier, the Pacific Rim received only 26 per cent, and the Americans 56 per cent But some analysts attribute that success in part to Canada's enviable global reputation as a stable trading partner Noted Goldberg "British Columbia is uniquely positioned to deal with the Pacific Rim, Quebec and the Atlantic provinces with Europe, Ontario and the Prairie provinces with the United States ' But there is no popular movement to set British Columbia on an independent course Added Goldberg "We can take advantage of that opportunity collectively—not as a collection of independent regions "

Still, some British Columbians speculate that Canada will become exactly that if the Meech Lake accord fails and Quebec seeks sovereign status "We will end up being little separate countries," said Brian Calder, former president of the Vancouver Real Estate Board "I would hate to see that happen " At the same time, Calder noted that many people in the province have grown impatient with Quebec's recurring threat to go it alone, "If Quebec separates, I am afraid that half of British Columbians would say, 'Fine, to heck with them, cut them loose.' "

PEETER KOPVILLEM *with HAL QUINN in Vancouver, JIM BUTLER in Whitehorse, JOHN HOWSE in Calgary, PAUL KAIHLA in Toronto and GLEN ALLEN in Halifax*

DOUBTS OVER THE DEADLINE

According to the federal lawyers who advise Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, the Meech Lake constitutional accord will dissolve on Saturday, June 23, 1990 unless all 10 provincial legislatures, as well as the federal government, have ratified it by then But some legal experts maintain that the June limit is a fiction Gordon Robertson, a former constitutional adviser to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, said that the deadline "is a myth "

The uncertainty hinges on how the two amending formulas contained in the Constitution Act, 1982, apply to Meech Lake. One, the general procedure for amending, requires that proposed constitutional changes be approved by Parliament and by the legislatures of at least two-thirds of the provinces, representing more than half of Canada's population—which in practice means at least seven provinces, including at least one of Ontario or Quebec. That formula sets a time limit of three years from the first legislative ratification vote to the last In Meech Lake's case, the clock started ticking when Quebec's national assembly ratified the first ministers' agreement on June 23, 1987 The other formula—applying to particular changes affecting a handful of national institutions, including the role of the Queen—requires the approval of all 11 governments It provides no deadline

The present confusion stems from the fact that parts of the Meech Lake agreement appear to fall under the first of the two 1982 formulas, while others are covered by the second Although most of the accord's provisions are covered under the general amending provision—requiring only seven provinces with one-half the Canadian population to approve them within three years—others, including those dealing with the composition of the Supreme Court and the amending formula itself, would require unanimous consent without a time limit As a result, federal officials have insisted from the beginning that the strictest components of both amending formulas apply: the accord must be ratified by all 11 governments, and that approval must take place within a three-year time frame. That interpretation has the support of Eugene Forsey, one of the country's leading constitutional experts, among others But McGill University law professor Stephen Scott, another noted constitutionalist, backs Robertson's position Said Scott "The June 23 thing rides on the most doubtful grounds "

Both sides agree on one point only the Supreme Court is qualified to settle the argument for good, and no one has sought a reference from it—yet Clearly, as long as the participants accept that there is a deadline, it exists But the uncertainty appears to leave room for future legal manoeuvring. If some of the provinces have still not ratified Meech Lake by June 23, there may be ample grounds for the pro-Meech Lake forces to argue that there is no limit on how long the required approvals may take—or even that all 11 approvals were not necessary to begin with for most parts of the accord □



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A PASSIONATE WARNING

PIERRE TRUDEAU LASHES OUT AT MEECH LAKE

It was vintage political vitriol, dispensed from the pen of a master. In words as biting as any that he uttered during 16 often-heated years as prime minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau used the concluding chapter of a forthcoming book to savage the records of two men who have succeeded him. Excerpts from *Towards a Just Society: The Trudeau Years*, a collection of essays by various authors to be published on March 20, appeared in several Canadian newspapers last week. Trudeau's principal target was Brian Mulroney—"a prime minister," in his caustic view, who is "ready to trade Canada's soul for an electoral victory." But Trudeau lashed out at Liberals as well, aiming darts at Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa and others in his party, including his successor as federal leader and prime minister, John Turner, who support the Meech Lake constitutional accord. As for the accord itself, Trudeau described it with biting contempt as a blueprint for "dismantling Canada."





Trudeau, Mulroney (below): vintage political vitriol

Harsh: Seldom in Canadian history has a leader of one generation offered such a harsh verdict on those who followed him. But it was not the first time that Trudeau, 70, has emerged from retirement to attack Mulroney and the Meech Lake initiative. And poll results show that, although Trudeau remains admired by most Canadians, his ability to influence the current constitutional debate is doubtful. In Quebec, his comments attracted little attention last week. In the rest of the country, many observers agreed with Linda Dyer, president of Baseline Research, a Fredericton-based polling company, who remarked, "I don't think Mr. Trudeau is that relevant." In Ottawa meanwhile, some senior Tories gloated privately in anticipation that the former prime minister's attack on Meech Lake would sow discord among candidates for the Liberal leadership who are divided over whether to endorse the accord.

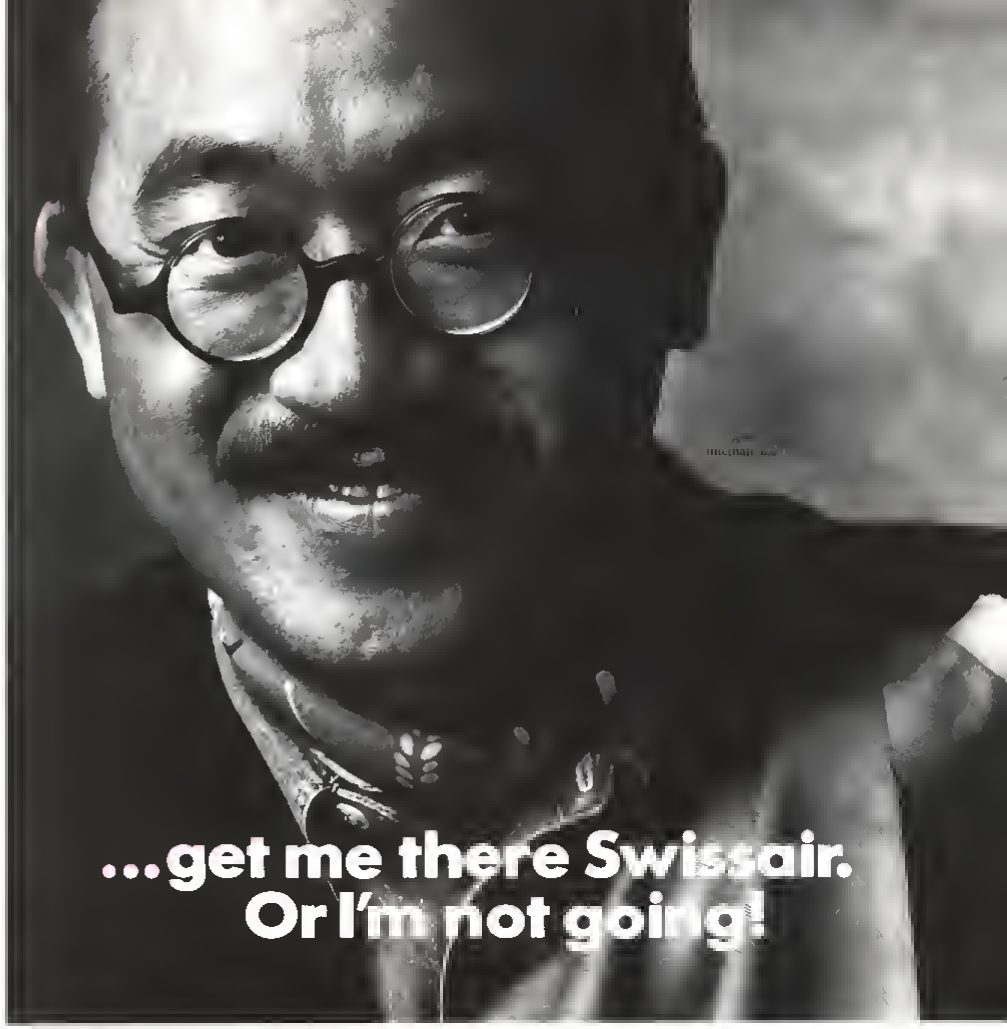
Trudeau showed no partisan favoritism in his selection of targets. He accused Mulroney of resorting to an alliance with the separatist Parti Quebecois, whose strong campaign organization helped the Tories win ridings in Quebec during the 1984 general election. Later, Trudeau wrote, Mulroney repaid that debt by naming Quebec nationalists to senior federal posts and by using Meech Lake to grant new powers to Quebec—an act that Trudeau condemned as one of "consummate irresponsibility." Mulroney's Free Trade Agreement with the United States, Trudeau added, amounted to "a monstrous swindle," in which Canada ceded important elements of its sovereignty "in return for advantages we already had or were going to obtain in a few years anyway."

Attack: Trudeau was hardly any kinder in his assessment of Liberals who support Meech Lake, including Turner and leadership candidates Sheila Copps and Paul Martin. In a stinging attack, he accused "the small fry on opposition benches" of helping the Tories "despoil" Canada. And he castigated Bourassa for "having trampled one of the country's fundamental freedoms," by restricting English-language rights in Quebec.

In substance, Trudeau wrote little that was new. Indeed, even before Mulroney and all 10 provincial premiers of the day signed the Meech accord in June, 1987, Trudeau had made plain his distaste for the document. On May 27, 1987, in articles written for newspapers in Toronto and Montreal, Trudeau called Mulroney a "weakling" for devising a constitutional plan in which Canada undertook "its own balkanization." Then, in August of that year, speaking to a special joint committee of the Senate and the House of Commons that was examining the accord, Trudeau catalogued the ways in which, he said, it transferred crucial federal powers to the provinces. "These amendments," he said, "erode the very essence of the Canadian state." Finally, last October, Trudeau took advantage of the launch of an earlier book of his own essays, *Meech Lake: Trudeau Speaks*, to accuse those who threaten a resurgence of Quebec separatism if the accord is not signed, of committing "a hoax."

Tart: But Trudeau's latest comments seemed likely to have little further impact on the constitutional debate than his earlier broadsides. "Trudeau is out of synch with the Quebec of the 1990s," said Lawrence Cannon, a Liberal member of the Quebec national assembly who was attending a weekend forum of the party's leadership candidates in Vancouver. The excerpts received little play in the Quebec media, and Montreal's *Le Devoir* attacked the book as a "marketing exercise." In a debate that has grown increasingly rancorous, Trudeau's tongue remained tart, but it was plainly no longer persuasive.

CHRIS WOOD



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STARING INTO THE ABYSS

WHAT IS NEXT IF MEECH LAKE FAILS?

They were the veterans of Canada's constitutional wars. At a private forum on the future of Canadian federalism held in Quebec City last August, 50 current and former officials from the federal and provincial governments reminisced about the frustrations, failures and occasional triumphs of past First Ministers' conferences. To no one's surprise, the fate of the Meech Lake constitutional accord dominated the discussions. According to one participant, Gordon Robertson, almost all of the officials favored the accord—but were decidedly pessimistic about its prospects. "There was general agreement that Canada's future hinged on getting the Meech Lake accord passed," said Robertson, who served as clerk of the Privy Council, Ottawa's most senior public servant, from 1963 to 1975. But, he added, "no one gave a thought to what we do if the accord fails. All efforts were focused on strategies to get Meech Lake ratified."

War: Seven months later, official Ottawa still seems to be taking that approach. Led by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, federal representatives are focusing attention firmly on the threat to national unity if Meech Lake is not ratified by June 23. Despite some dissenting views among constitutional experts, Ottawa insists that the accord will expire on that day if it has not been accepted by all 10 provincial legislatures. But if the federal government has any strategy for dealing with the failure of the accord, it has not yet made it public. Said one Ontario official involved in the backroom negotiations to salvage the agreement: "It is hard to think of the next war when you are still under fire in the current one. There may be some plan, but it is nothing scientific. The guys in Ottawa are devoting themselves to finding a way to save Meech Lake."

Critics of the government claim that that approach illustrates Mulroney's failure to show leadership at a time of national crisis. Said Manitoba Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs, a leading opponent of the accord: "Mulroney's sole aim seems to be to absolve himself of responsibility for Meech Lake's failure." Critics also say that Mulroney will have to offer new inducements to the three provincial governments that are opposed to the accord in its present form. (Manitoba and New Brunswick have not ratified the deal. Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells has pledged to rescind his province's approval unless changes are made.)

But among most observers, hopes for saving Meech Lake now rest mainly with proposals for a so-called parallel accord—a separate document addressing what some provinces see as weaknesses in the existing agreement. Senator Lowell Murray, the minister for federal-provincial relations who is co-ordinating the government's attempt to have Meech Lake ratified, has said that such a document "probably would and should" address such concerns as the rights of linguistic minorities, women, native and multicultural groups. Some proponents of a parallel accord say that it, too, could be submitted to the Commons and the 10 provincial legislatures as part of the Meech Lake round of amendments.



MICAH WY PHO

Murray, Mulroney: focusing efforts on ratifying the accord by June 23

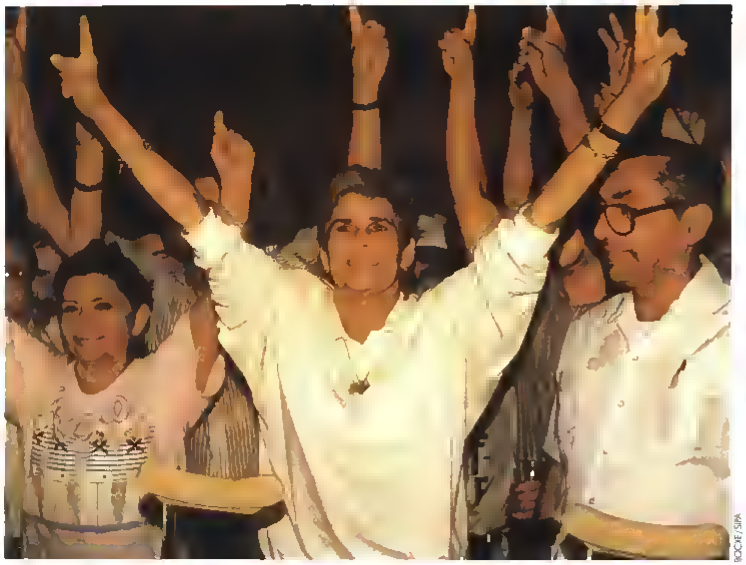
But Quebec's government has rejected entering into still another agreement, which one or more of the provincial legislatures could derail—as happened with the original Meech accord. Asked Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa: "What guarantees do we have that what happened to Meech Lake will not also happen to a parallel accord?" Instead, Bourassa's emissary on Meech Lake, Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Gil Remillard, said last week that Quebec was ready to commit itself to negotiate new constitutional provisions once Meech Lake is passed. Rémillard promised that Quebec would support new protections for minority language groups—what he termed a "minority language-rights code"—as well as aboriginal rights and the entry of the northern territories into Confederation as provinces. But Rémillard added, "We are open to discussing a political accord, but not an amendment."

'Fiddling': Still, such a proposal might prove acceptable to New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna. In a speech to members of the Toronto-based C. D. Howe Institute on Feb. 13, McKenna pleaded with Bourassa for a sign that Quebec is prepared to accept Ottawa's role in protecting minority language rights. Added the premier: "With that commitment, I believe the rest of Canada can feel more secure in accepting Quebec's distinctiveness." But officials in both Manitoba and Newfoundland said that Quebec's language-rights proposal did not go far enough. Said an adviser to Wells: "Everyone should stop fiddling at the edges. We must have a new agreement."

Sour: But Mulroney still insists that the original accord cannot be rewritten. And senior Ottawa officials say that the best way to improve the sour political mood in the country is to find a way to pass the Meech Lake accord. That stance, however, does little to reassure critics who claim that Ottawa is failing to assert strong national leadership. And with less than four months until June 23, Mulroney has little time left to try alternatives to his strategy of brinkmanship.

BRUCE WALLACE *in Ottawa*

THE AFTERSHOCK



BOOE/SIPA

Chamorro after victory: 'What I want is that we all work for a reconciliation of Nicaragua'

THE DEFEAT OF NICARAGUA'S SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT SHOCKED THE HEMISPHERE

In the run-up to Nicaragua's election, President Daniel Ortega looked more like a pop star than the leftist revolutionary who had defied the United States for almost a decade. Gone were the spectacles and military uniform of a *comandante* of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Ortega wore contact lenses and campaigned in blue jeans and flowered shirts. And he was apparently so confident of winning that he began calling himself "president-elect" even before the voting began. But the outcome confounded all opinion polls and predictions by many of the 2,500 foreign observers monitoring the fairness of the balloting. The result also surprised the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, which had advised President George Bush that a Sandinista victory seemed certain. Three hours after voting ended on the night of Feb. 25, a shocked Ortega learned that he had lost to the National Opposition Union (UNO), a fractious coalition led by his former junta colleague Violeta Chamorro. Early the next morning, looking subdued, the president promised to "respect and obey the popular mandate," signalling an end to more than 10 turbulent years of Sandinista rule.

UNO's stunning upset—by a margin of 15 percentage points—led to dancing in the streets of Managua and jubilation in Washington. There, two successive administrations had applied economic sanctions and funded the contra guerrillas in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the only leftist government in Central America. Bush hailed the election result as "another victory" for democracy, following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. Other American officials predicted an early end to the war in El Salvador, now that the leftist insurgents there can no longer count on Nicaraguan support. But Sandinista control of the 75,000-member army and the interior ministry's security apparatus will likely lead to a stormy transition. Analysts say that Chamorro will have to reconcile fierce rivalries within her own 14-party alliance before her inauguration on April 25. And Washington faces the difficult task of demobilizing the contras and raising massive amounts of aid to rebuild Nicaragua's shattered economy. As Senate Republican leader Robert Dole pointed out, it will take "big bucks."

Apprehensions about the two-month transition period heightened on Feb. 26 when Ortega outlined a list of what he called "untouchables" for the new government. He told an afternoon rally in Managua that the Sandinistas would not allow UNO to cut down the size of the armed forces or purge their commanders. And he pledged that there would be no rollback of the Sandinistas' land-reform program, under which more than two million confiscated acres had been redistributed to about 68,000 peasant families.

Ortega was more conciliatory that evening in a private meeting with Chamorro. The 60-year-old opposition leader, on crutches after fracturing her right kneecap during the election campaign, greeted him effusively at the Managua restaurant that had served as her campaign headquarters. "My beautiful little father, come in because I love you," she said. "There were no winners or losers in these elections. What I want is that we all work for a reconciliation of Nicaragua." Ortega hugged her and said that he was "ready to co-operate."



MORGAN/AP

Policeman subduing Managuan demonstrator after election: democracy has no roots

But hard-liners on the nine-member Sandinista National Directorate seemed unwilling to follow suit. Tomás Borge, the powerful interior minister who heads the secret police, said that he would step down after Chamorro takes over but added, ominously, that she would do well to keep him on. "If I am not named the minister, the one who will come out the loser will be the new government, not me," he said.

Despite an appeal from Ortega to tone down their rhetoric, Sandinista radio and press reports continued to denounce the vote as "fraudulent." One broadcast declared that the Sandinista Front would continue to "rule from below." In Managua, residents of several neighborhoods said that the Sandinista leadership had begun supplying weapons to its militant supporters in the event of an open conflict between the outgoing and incoming governments. And there were belligerent demonstrations by young Sandinistas, many of them armed, in the northern towns of Esteli, Ocotal, Somoto and Pueblo Nuevo.

Democracy has no roots in Nicaragua, a wedge of semitropical jungle that has been racked by conflict for 150 years. From U.S. adventurer William Walker, who ran the country like a personal fiefdom in the 1850s, to dictator Anastasio Somoza, who ruled for 12 years until the Sandinistas overthrew him in 1979, political power has changed hands only through violence. The Sandinistas' anti-American rhetoric, leftist social and economic policies and close ties to the Soviet Bloc brought them into conflict with the United States after Ronald Reagan succeeded Jimmy Carter as president in 1981. By then, Chamorro had already resigned from the Sandinistas' first ruling junta in disillusionment with the new regime's failure to call free elections.

Reagan accused Ortega of creating a "Stalinist dungeon" in Nicaragua, repressing the political opposition and joining with Cuba to export revolution. Bush once derided him as "that little man." Both American presidents spent hundreds of millions of dollars arming

World Notes

OPEN-SKIES TALKS STALL

Negotiations towards an open-skies treaty, which would allow reciprocal surveillance flights over 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, have stalled. Western officials said that Soviet negotiators rejected a NATO proposal to use sophisticated sensor equipment. Negotiations, which began at a conference in Ottawa last month, are scheduled to resume in Budapest in April.

EAST GERMAN DESERTERS

The East German armed forces, once among the most disciplined in the Warsaw Pact, have shrunk to 90,000 members from 173,000 five months ago, when pro-democracy demonstrators ousted the country's hard-line regime, NATO officials said. Thousands of soldiers, complaining about spartan barrack conditions and the existing 18-month compulsory draft, have deserted, the officials said.

REVOLUTIONARY ARRESTED

In the Philippines, opposition Senator Juan Ponce Enrile, a former defence minister who was one of the leaders of the popular revolt that toppled President Ferdinand Marcos in 1986, was charged with rebellion and murder. President Corazon Aquino has accused Enrile of supporting rebel soldiers who attempted to overthrow her last December.

MAYOR BARRY PLEADS INNOCENT

Washington Mayor Marion Barry, who was arrested on Jan. 18 when police said that they videotaped the mayor smoking crack cocaine in a Washington hotel room, left a drug- and alcohol-abuse treatment centre in South Carolina and pleaded not guilty in Washington to charges of cocaine possession and perjury.

INDIAN ELECTION VIOLENCE

At least 100 people died in election violence as Indians went to the polls to elect eight state assemblies. The rightist Hindu Bharatiya Janata party emerged with a majority in two of the states and was expected to form a coalition government in three others. Former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi's Congress party, ousted in national elections last November, had controlled all eight states.

DEADLY HOTEL FIRE

A fire swept through the 600-room Heliopolis Sheraton Hotel in Cairo, killing at least 16 people, many of them foreign tourists. The 20 Canadians at the hotel survived, although several were treated for smoke inhalation.

and supplying the contra rebels, whose guerrilla war claimed an estimated 30 000 lives in eight years. American trade embargoes and Sandinista mismanagement of the economy created rampant inflation and plummeting living standards, finally achieving what the contras could not do—undermine the revolutionary regime. Ortega, apparently hoping that a Sandinista victory in democratic elections would remove any justification for U.S. support for the contras and pave the way for normalization of relations with Washington, decided to take a gamble. At a Central American presidential summit in February, 1989, he committed himself to an internationally supervised election.

The UNO coalition, hastily assembled only six months before the election, was united only in its desire to unseat the Sandinistas. The 14 opposition parties were weak, disorganized and built not around issues, but personalities. They chose Chamorro, publisher of the opposition newspaper *La Prensa* as their presidential candidate largely because she did not belong to any party. That, they hoped, would prevent any single coalition component from gaining ascendancy. Throughout the 12-week election campaign, government rallies dwarfed UNO gatherings. Polls by outside groups consistently showed that the Sandinistas would sweep to victory, and Ortega himself maintained that defeat was "not possible."

It was, perhaps, that confidence that led to one of the cleanest and fairest elections ever held in Central America. Other than a controversy over improper use of Canadian aid, foreign observers reported few irregularities. Grain and canola oil in containers stamped "Canada" had been distributed by Sandinista officials in Masaya, a small town 40 km from Managua, a day before the election in an obvious attempt to influence voters. But there was no apparent intimidation, no violence and no tampering with ballot boxes as Nicaraguans flocked to the polls. By the time the voting was over, at 6 p.m. Sunday, nearly 90 per cent of the country's 1.7 million registered voters had cast their ballots—and it took only three hours for the verdict to emerge.

By 9 p.m., preliminary counts at selected voting stations convinced Ortega that he had lost. A Nicaraguan who was in the Sandinista campaign headquarters said that "there was just total shock" when the results came in. "No one could move or think," he said. At 11:30 p.m., Ortega informed leaders of the foreign observer teams that he was ready to concede defeat. Ex-president Carter, who led the American delegation, said: "He took the initiative, and I'm sure he had thorough discussions with the other *comandantes*. There was never any question about whether they would accept the results of the election. The only discussion was working out the step-by-step."

At 2 a.m. Monday, when 60 per cent of the results were in, Ortega asked members of his cabinet to go to the Olof Palme Convention Centre for his concession speech. But the only ones who showed up were his foreign minister, Miguel D'Escoto Brockman, and the Sandinista campaign manager, Bayardo Arce. Notably absent were Borge, the interior minister, and the president's younger brother Humberto, the defence minister.

Nicaraguans who had stayed awake most of the night awaiting the results, heard Ortega's brief statement on a government radio broadcast. Some Sandinistas wept. Others wandered forlornly around a huge bandstand that had been erected outside their campaign headquarters for the victory party that never materialized. Government supporters clashed with UNO celebrants in several Managua neighborhoods, but many were simply too stunned by Chamorro's landslide to voice their objections. Said one British diplomat: "It wasn't that we didn't think Violeta could outpoll Daniel, it was just that we couldn't imagine him out of power."



Ortega campaigning: contact lenses and casual shirts

Ortega's defeat rekindled one of the most divisive foreign-policy debates in Washington. Conservative Republicans claimed that it vindicated their support for the contras. Liberal Democrats said that the election proved the merits of negotiation over military action. But the White House swiftly reassured the fledgling democracy. In a message clearly aimed at the contras, Bush said that there was "no reason at all for further military activity from any quarter." Other senior administration officials disclosed that the 3,000 rebels still operating in Nicaragua and another 10,000 based in neighboring Honduras had been told to "cool it." Marlin Fitzwater, the White House press secretary, also announced that the lifting of economic sanctions "will be a matter of first consideration."

Ortega responded to those gestures by declaring a unilateral truce. Promising that combat operations would be halted at once, he made it clear that demobilization of the contras was one of his conditions for handing over control of the army to the new government. Chamorro supported Ortega's call for demobilization but also ruled out any limits on her power—and she did nothing to lessen Sandinista concerns about her desire to reduce the size of the Nicaraguan army. At a March 1 news conference, Chamorro said: "We are going to have a very small democratic armed force, and not what there is at the moment. Humberto Ortega is going to leave," Chamorro said, adding that she would appoint her own defence minister.

The contras themselves seemed undecided what to do. One report from Honduras said that they would keep their army intact until Chamorro is inaugurated. Another said that they would lay down their arms if they received amnesty. At week's end, contra spokesman Alejandro Acevedo announced that they had requested "immediate talks" with Chamorro, while also negotiating with U.S. special envoy Harry Shlaudeman, whom Bush had sent to Honduras.

Another round of negotiations was under way in Managua, where Chamorro's son-in-law and campaign manager, Antonio Lacayo, began discussing the transition with Humberto Ortega. The appointment of Lacayo, an American-educated businessman, as transition chief did not go down well with Chamorro's coalition partners, who accused her of favoring the eight senior advisers in her shadow cabinet over the 14 party leaders in her alliance. Such bickering will not make it easier for UNO to traverse the formidable obstacles that still litter Nicaragua's road to democracy. Having defied all odds by beating the Sandinistas, the president-elect could find her coalition falling apart before she even takes office.

HOLGER JENSEN *with* **JOSEPH GANNON** *in Managua and* **HILARY MACKENZIE** *in Washington*

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THE UNITED STATES

A sweet victory

Washington bids farewell to the Sandinistas

For Washington, it was an unmistakably sweet victory. For almost a decade, the U.S. government waged an unrelenting war against Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista regime. It funded a contra rebel army that was fighting a civil war in the tiny Central American country, and it launched an economic blockade that left the country's 3.2 million inhabitants poverty-stricken. The Central Intelligence Agency caused an international furor when it mined Nicaragua's harbors. And President Ronald Reagan's total support for the rebels provoked the most divisive scandal of his administration, the Iran-contra affair. But last week's unexpected election defeat of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, whom President George Bush once scorned as "an unwanted animal at a garden party," provided the United States with one of its clearest recent foreign policy successes. Said one talk-show host on Sandinista television after the National Opposition Union (UNO) won its landslide victory: "Basically, what happened here is that U.S. policy won."

Even as the Bush administration basked in the afterglow of the election results and subdued its customary Cold War rhetoric to congratulate Ortega on holding a fair election, observers began to count the costs of a decade of U.S. aggression. Economists predicted that Nicaragua would need an injection of more than $2 billion over five years to recover from the guerrilla war and the trade embargo. Even those who supported U.S. policy in Nicaragua said last week that the United States now has an obligation to make reparations. "We have the right to use economic pressure as a weapon against a dictator," said Elliot Abrams, former assistant secretary for Latin America in the Reagan administration. "But, when you get your way, there is a moral responsibility to foot the bill."

The U.S. Nicaragua policy emerged in the wake of the Sandinista revolution that overthrew right-wing dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979. Early in 1981, Reagan accused the leftist Sandinistas of arming Marxist rebels in El Salvador—and abruptly cut off foreign aid to Nicaragua. That same year, the U.S. government began to provide arms and funding for the contras, whom Reagan called "the moral equivalent" of America's Founding Fathers. As the civil war raged on, it claimed an estimated 30,000 lives in eight years.

Reagan's support for the contras also placed him in opposition to many congressmen, who expressed concern that American involvement in Nicaragua could become a full-scale, Vietnam-style military invasion. In 1984, after Congress banned direct military aid for the rebels, members of the Reagan administration found a circuitous and illegal route to continue funding, diverting profits to the rebels from arms sales to Iran.

The results of that scandal continue to haunt the U.S. government. This week, Reagan's former national security adviser, John Poindexter, stands trial charged with perjury for allegedly trying to cover up the affair. Meanwhile, some critics say that U.S. strategy was fundamentally flawed because American support for the rebels allowed the Sandinista government to play on nationalist sentiments to consolidate its power. Said Peter Hakim, staff director of Inter-American Dialogue, a Washington-based think-tank: "The great mistake of the Reagan policy was to undermine the internal opposition in Nicaragua by creating an external military force designed to overthrow the Sandinistas rather than compete politically."

But some observers claim that the economic blockade was effective. After Reagan imposed an embargo on all trade between the two countries in May, 1985, Nicaragua lost more than $55 million in earnings each year. Reagan also blocked international loans to Nicaragua through international organizations including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Inter-American Development Bank. Said Lance Taylor, a professor of economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology: "It has been quite effective. Exports have fallen off sharply, while imports have remained high."

Analysts remain divided about whether U.S. policy was responsible for forcing Ortega to hold free elections and, ultimately, for a UNO victory. Said one senior Canadian official in Ottawa: "It is simplistic at best to think that the American policy worked." But Abrams described the UNO victory as a total vindication of Reagan's policies. Whatever the case may be, most observers said that the Bush administration now faces an enormous task, not only in financing the recovery of the Nicaraguan economy, but also in demobilizing the contra rebel army.



Contras burying one of their own: total support provoked a most divisive scandal

Honduran President Rafael Leonardo Callejas said last week that the contras have worn out their welcome in Honduras. And some U.S. officials said that the Bush administration will have to force the contras to return peacefully to Nicaragua as soon as possible. Said Hakim: "The United States has an obligation to remove the contras as a thorn and an obstacle to political reconciliation." At week's end, some observers in Washington even speculated that the United States might have been better served by a Sandinista victory.

HILARY MACKENZIE *in Washington*

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The CTV National News with Lloyd Robertson.

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ITALIAN RENAISSANCE. ALCAN ALUMINUM.

Florence. Home of the Italian Renaissance. Yesterday's, today's and tomorrow's. Photo: Peter Christopher

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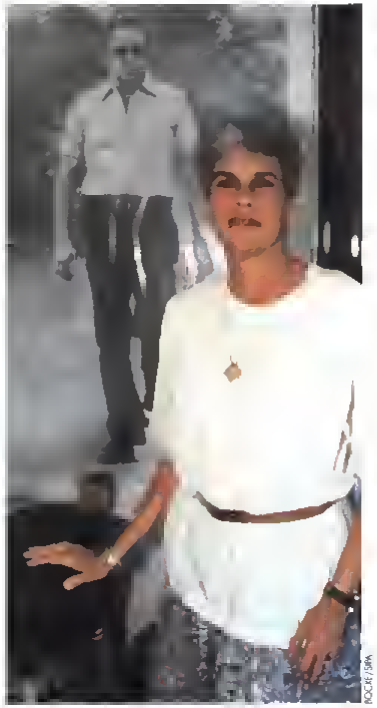
NICARAGUA

A family affair

A new Central American leader faces an enormous task

Her family is as politically divided and fractious as the country she has been elected to lead. During Nicaragua's 12-week election campaign, 60-year-old Violeta Barrios de Chamorro frequently had to defend herself against vitriolic attacks by two of her children, who were high-ranking members of Nicaragua's ruling Sandinista establishment. Her other two children served as her advisers as she battled long odds to unseat the charismatic Sandinista leader, Daniel Ortega. Now, as president-elect, Chamorro faces an enormous task in healing the deep rifts that have split thousands of Nicaraguan families like her own.

Throughout the campaign, Chamorro emerged as a symbol, not only of the divisions within the country, but also as the political heir to her husband, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, killed 12 years ago. Pedro Chamorro, a newspaper publisher and a leading critic of former dictator Anastasio Somoza, was assassinated by suspected Somoza supporters in January, 1978, provoking a popular uprising that, 18 months later, resulted in the Sandinistas seizing power. The spirit of Pedro Chamorro dominates contemporary Nicaraguan history—and his memory remains a powerful force in the life of Violeta Chamorro. Her home in Managua has memorabilia reflecting her devotion to him. A glass-covered case contains the bloodstained, bullet-shredded pullover sweater that he was wearing when he was assassinated. His car, a tan-colored Saab, is parked in the backyard. And during the election campaign, a bust of Pedro Chamorro was placed on the stage beside Violeta as she addressed supporters.



Chamorro with photo of Pedro, battled odds

Chamorro's critics claim that, although she is widely respected—as the widow of a national hero and, in recent years, as the publisher of the daily *La Prensa*, as well as a vocal opponent of the Sandinista regime—she has little political experience. And they say that she will have difficulty maintaining control over the 14-party coalition, the National Opposition Union (UNO), that she leads. Even her son-in-law and campaign manager, Antonio Lacayo, conceded that Chamorro "is not a politician." He added, 'She is a symbol for the Nicaraguan people and she will serve as such.' But other advisers say that Chamorro is a strong-willed woman who rebuffs anyone who tries to manipulate her. And they maintain that, even though Chamorro was born into a wealthy, conservative family, she is a compassionate woman whose own personal morality will express itself in government policies. Chamorro quickly declared herself in full charge. She told a news conference, "I am the one who is going to be giving the orders.'

Violeta Chamorro was born in the town of Rivas, near the Costa Rican border, the daughter of a cattle rancher. Her father sent her to college in Texas and Virginia to learn English, a language that still gives her great difficulty. After returning to her home town in 1949, when she was 19, her brother introduced her to Pedro Chamorro, the scion of one of Nicaragua's leading families. A year later, during which Chamorro proposed marriage several times, Violeta and Pedro were married.

For almost three decades, until her husband's death, Violeta Chamorro devoted her energies to her four children and her husband, who faced increasing danger as an ever more vocal critic of the Somoza regime. In 1952, after his father's death, Pedro took over the family newspaper, *La Prensa*, and used it to attack the dictator. When, four years later, the Somoza government imprisoned Pedro Chamorro for rebellion, his wife delivered food to him regularly. In 1957, Violeta and Pedro fled in a canoe to Costa Rica, where they remained until 1960.

But it was not until after Pedro's death in 1978 that Violeta Chamorro emerged as a political figure in her own right. She took over as editor of *La Prensa*. And, in July, 1979, when the Sandinistas triumphed over the Somoza regime, Chamorro joined their five-member ruling junta. On victory day, she rode into Managua atop a military vehicle alongside Ortega. "They told me that they needed me," Chamorro said in a recent interview. "They needed the name of my husband. It would have been unpatriotic to refuse."

Within nine months, however, she had become disillusioned and quit the junta. She returned to publishing *La Prensa* and became an outspoken critic of the new regime—accusing the Sandinistas of building a one-party Marxist state, despite their promises to create a democratic, pluralistic society. Two of her children joined her at the newspaper. Her elder son, Pedro Joaquín, became editor before joining the U.S.-backed contra rebels who were waging war on the Sandinistas from bases in neighboring Honduras. And Cristiana, her youngest daughter, is now the editor of *La Prensa* and a particularly virulent critic of the regime.

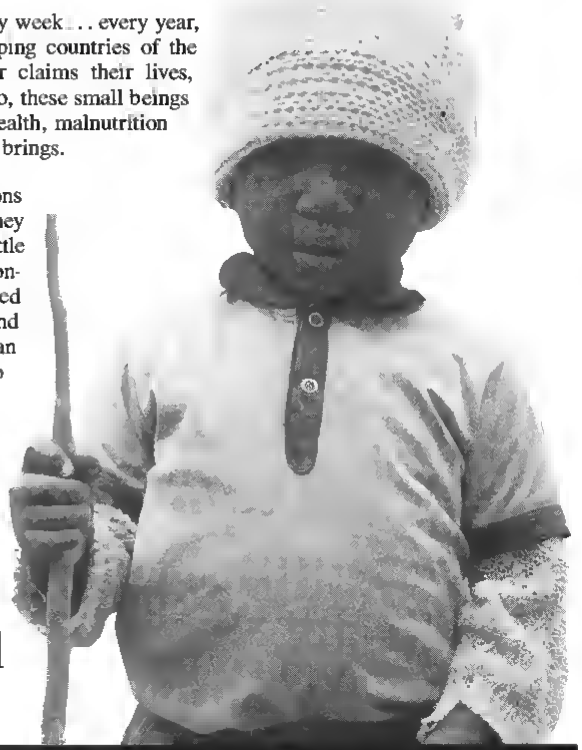
But Chamorro's other two children stayed with the revolutionaries. Carlos Fernando is editor of the official Sandinista newspaper, *Barricada*. His sister Claudia is a Sandinista diplomat in Spain. During the election campaign, Carlos Fernando told one interviewer that his mother was "being used as an instrument of American policy." Claudia Chamorro went even further. In an open letter published in *Barricada* and another Sandinista paper, she wrote that "UNO brings together all of the political enemies of my father."

Despite the family's deep political divisions, Chamorro insists that her children maintain cordial relations, and they often share meals at her home. Chamorro contends that what has happened to her family is the result of a decade of Sandinista rule. "The Sandinistas have tried to split families, to divide them psychologically," she said. "But it is very difficult for those divisions to last." The future of Nicaragua may well depend on whether Chamorro can now bring together the forces that have divided her country so tragically.

D'ARCY JENISH *with* **JOSEPH CANNON** *in Managua*

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Protesters in Moscow: an official scare campaign and soft-core porn on state TV

THE SOVIET UNION

A massive challenge

Pro-democracy flexes its newfound muscles

Soviet television repeatedly broadcast warnings that violent extremists were planning to disrupt the pro-democracy protests. Teachers told children to stay at home, and government officials warned hospital staff to prepare for an onslaught of casualties. And, in what activists said was a clear effort to distract potential protesters not frightened by the official scare campaign, state TV broadcast a Soviet rarity, a soft-core porn movie, on the morning of the demonstrations. But, despite all those efforts, hundreds of thousands of Soviets rallied peacefully in at least 20 cities across the Soviet Union on Feb. 25 in the first nationwide show of strength by the country's pro-democracy opposition. In Moscow, speakers urged 50,000 protesters to vote for reform candidates in upcoming republic elections. As well, they criticized President Mikhail Gorbachev's reform program as half-hearted. In one of the strongest attacks, dissident journalist Sergei Kuznetsov denounced Gorbachev as the heir to a "totalitarian" and "criminal" regime.

After that challenge to the Kremlin's authority, other dramatic breakthroughs followed. For one thing, the Supreme Soviet, the country's inner parliament, voted to give citizens the right to lease land for the first time since the 1917 Communist revolution. For another, Gorbachev took action to increase his own power significantly. At the same time, in elections in the Baltic republic of Lithuania, voters overwhelmingly rejected the Communist party. Of the 90 seats decided last week, 72 went to candidates supported by the pro-independence movement Sajudis, giving the movement a majority in the 141-member parliament even before runoff elections are held for the 51 seats in which no single candidate won more than half the votes. "This day is a line between the past and future," declared Sajudis chairman Vytautas Landsbergis. And he predicted that the new parliament would declare an independent Lithuanian state before the end of the year.

A day after the Lithuanian elections, voters in the southern republic of Moldavia elected the nationalist Moldavian Popular Front to half the decided seats in parliament. But a majority of the 380 seats will not be filled until runoff elections, leaving the final result uncertain.

The new land law passed by the Supreme Soviet last week is part of Gorbachev's plan to revive the country's troubled economy. Under the draft law, which the Congress of Peoples' Deputies, the country's leading legislative body, still has to approve, local farm committees will have the right to order farm collectives to lease parcels of land to individuals. But critics of the plan argued that it does not go far enough because individuals will not be allowed to own or sell the land and the farm collectives will likely hand over only small, marginal parcels of land. Said Pavel Bunich, a Soviet economist: "The authorities are not going to want to give up their best areas."

After a bitter, daylong debate, the Supreme Soviet also passed legislation that will give the president sweeping powers to impose a state of emergency and martial law in troubled areas. The law also calls for the Congress to elect the president for four years and, after that first term, for the president to be elected directly by the people for five-year terms. The Congress, scheduled to meet on March 11, still has to approve that bill as well. But observers say that the chamber is certain to pass the law and to give Gorbachev the new presidential post.

He cited the recent unrest in the southern republic of Azerbaijan, where an estimated 200 people died in interethnic feuds, to justify the need for greater presidential authority. Many critics have said that Gorbachev could have reduced the bloodshed if he had moved more quickly to send in troops. But in the Supreme Soviet last week, some reformist deputies argued that the new draft law is too sweeping. Said Sergei Stankevich: "We can still feel the great totalitarian tradition in this country."

And in Lithuania and the other two Baltic republics, Estonia and Latvia, which hold parliamentary elections later this month, legislators expressed concern that Gorbachev would use the new powers to stifle their independence plans. After the debate in the Supreme Soviet, Lithuania's electoral commission hurriedly advanced many of the republic's runoff elections by a week to March 3. That would allow the Lithuanian parliament to meet this week before the Congress has a chance to pass the new presidential law—and, as a result, head off any pre-emptive move by Gorbachev to prevent secession. Said Algirdas Cekuolis, a Sajudis deputy: "Maybe Gorbachev is already accustomed to the idea of independence, or maybe he will try some trick. We want to keep one jump ahead of Moscow."

For his part, Gorbachev has said that, although republics theoretically have the right under the constitution to secede, they cannot do so unilaterally, and Moscow will have to approve such a move. But, as the vote in Lithuania and the rallies across the Soviet Union clearly showed last week, Gorbachev may have difficulty controlling the rapid pace of change that he himself has set in motion.

MARY NEMETH *with* ROSEMARIE BOYLE *in Moscow*

SOUTH AFRICA

Mandela digs in

The ANC's star takes on a leading role

Three thousand people jammed the airport in the Zambian capital of Lusaka to greet South Africa's black nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela. He emerged from a Zambia Airways jet and raised a clenched fist to salute the cheering crowd. On the tarmac, a host of foreign officials, including Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark and Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasser Arafat, were waiting to greet him. Also among the crowd were the 71-year-old Mandela's old comrades from the African National Congress (ANC), many of whom fled into exile during the 27 years that Mandela spent in South African jails for his opposition to apartheid. The joyous reception that began Mandela's first trip abroad since his release last month underscored his tremendous international prestige. And, two days later, the ANC ensured that Mandela will play a leading role in upcoming negotiations with the South African government by naming him deputy president of the movement, under president Oliver Tambo.

Mandela was in Lusaka for a series of meetings with leaders of the so-called front-line states, including Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Tanzania, and to hold talks with a delegation of Commonwealth leaders, including Clark. Mandela also met with the ANC's National Executive Committee for the first time since his release on Feb. 11. After two days of talks, the ANC executive announced that it will open a new headquarters in Johannesburg and will contact the South African government to arrange dates and locations for preliminary talks aimed at drafting a new constitution. But despite pressure from Clark and other Western leaders, Mandela and the ANC leadership remained adamant on one issue: the armed struggle against South Africa's white-minority regime cannot yet be suspended. Said Mandela: "We can't be expected to make any concessions to the government, no matter what difficulties it has."

Meanwhile in Pretoria, South African President F. W. (Frederik) de Klerk was under fire in parliament last week because of allegations that his defence minister controlled death squads that have killed anti-apartheid activists. De Klerk has also faced strenuous opposition from hard-line, right-wing supporters of apartheid since he announced his decision last month to release Mandela and legalize the ANC and other anti-apartheid organizations.

Last week, in Lusaka, even before Mandela's arrival, Clark said that by formally renouncing the use of violence, the ANC could counter the right-wing pressure on the president. Declared Clark: "It would be very helpful for the ANC to take the decision to move away from the commitment to the armed struggle."

But Mandela told the external affairs minister during a 50-minute meeting that the ANC would renounce the armed struggle only after it begins to negotiate with the South African government to end white minority rule. And he said that de Klerk has not gone far enough to pave the way to negotiations. Mandela said that the ANC has set three preconditions for even preliminary discussions, aimed at removing the obstacles to full-scale negotiations. Those include the lifting of the state of emergency, imposed in June, 1986, the release of all political prisoners and the free return of all ANC leaders in exile to South Africa. Mandela said that de Klerk's reluctance to meet the ANC demands is a sign that his government is not yet ready for talks on power-sharing between blacks and whites. Added Mandela: "It is quite clear that the government is not prepared to meet us, and you can't expect us to make any concessions to the government."



Clark (left) with Mandela (seated): adamant about armed struggle

Despite the ANC's refusal to renounce the use of force, several ANC officials said privately last week that the commitment to the armed struggle was more symbolic than real. Zambia-based Martin (Chris) Hani, a senior member of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the ANC, said that the movement would not order any attacks on South Africa while negotiations were in progress. Another official, who asked not to be named, added, "We all know that the armed struggle is more hot air than hot lead." But the official added that the ANC leadership would risk alienating younger, more militant members of the organization if it formally renounced the use of force. "Too many of our young people will feel betrayed if we just give it up now," the official said.

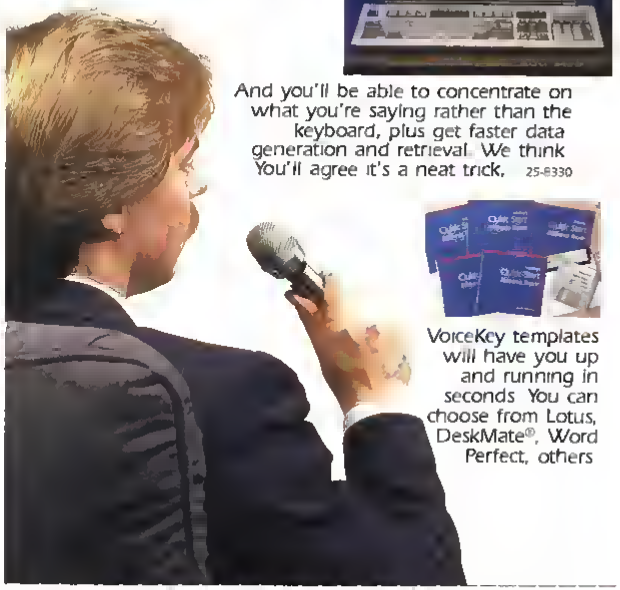
The ANC leaders were divided over Mandela's role in the organization. The issue arose because Tambo, who is in a Swedish hospital recovering from a stroke, is expected to announce his retirement by the end of the year. ANC officials said last week that the issue of succession triggered a heated debate between moderates and radicals within the national executive committee.

The militants opposed Mandela's elevation to deputy president because he has had no official position within the organization since he was imprisoned in 1962, when he was serving as commander-in-chief of the ANC's military

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wing. But pragmatists within the executive committee, who eventually prevailed, argued that Mandela possesses the statesmanship and international profile to enhance the ANC's image in South Africa and abroad. As well, moderate South African whites may trust him because he has not been connected with the armed struggle of the past three decades. Although his duties as deputy president have not been spelled out, Mandela said, "I am prepared to serve in any role the national executive instructs me to fill."

Although ANC officials said that their Johannesburg office would open soon, the status of many of its members, now living in exile in Zambia, remains unclear. At the end of the two-day executive meeting, Mandela addressed a rally of thousands of flag-waving, chanting ANC exiles and told them that the time for going home was drawing closer. That same day, veteran ANC activists Ray Alexander, 76, and her 83-year-old husband, Jack Simon, became the first ANC exiles to return since de Klerk lifted a ban on the organization. They were greeted at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport by about 500 ANC supporters and family members—many of whom they had not seen for a quarter of a century. But many other exiles expressed concern about their future because the de Klerk government refuses to declare unequivocally that they will escape prosecution. Said Themba Khumalo, an ANC refugee in Zambia: "Once I know I will not be prosecuted, I am packing and going home. I want to see the country I left more than 20 years ago."

Meanwhile, the South African government, already under fire from right-wing whites opposed to de Klerk's reforms, faced mounting pressure from both ends of the political spectrum last week over allegations that Defence Minister Magnus Malan controlled a death squad that killed anti-apartheid activists. Last month, *The Star* newspaper of Johannesburg reported that Malan controlled the Civil Cooperation Bureau, a covert group that police investigators have linked to the murders of two anti-apartheid activists. At least 58 such murders are still under investigation.

President de Klerk said last week that he would put all covert operations of the South African military under direct cabinet control. But he defended Malan against what he called a "witch-hunt based on innuendo." Still, even the pro-apartheid Conservative Party has demanded that Malan resign. "Malan has become an embarrassment to the government," the party said in a statement. At the same time, the liberal Democratic Party co-leader Denis Worrall said that, unless the government at least suspends Malan during an investigation into alleged death-squad activity, the issue could lead to further racial tensions. Said Worrall: "The black reaction is going to be one of anger because blacks see this as a case of the government manipulating the truth." Clearly, South Africans still face many obstacles on the precarious road to reform.

D'ARCY JENISH *with* CHRIS ERASMUS
in Johannesburg and correspondents' reports

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WORLD

THE UNITED STATES

Towards cleaner air

Americans scale a major political hurdle

After three weeks of intense backroom negotiations, the White House and the U.S. Senate last week scaled a major political hurdle and unveiled compromise environmental legislation including a package to reduce acid rain. The clean-air measures strike a balance between sweeping air-pollution controls, which a Senate committee passed last year, and a cautious, cost-cutting plan, which President George Bush proposed. After a decade of political gridlock between the White House and Congress, and years of impasse between Washington and Ottawa, where officials have complained that acid rain is destroying Canadian lakes and forests, the compromise finally paves the way for a new Clean Air Bill. Declared Canadian Ambassador Derek Burney: "It is an encouraging step in the right direction."

The compromise bill maintains most of the acid-rain restrictions proposed by both the administration and the Senate committee. It calls for coal-fired electrical utilities to cut their emissions of sulphur dioxide, which causes acid rain, by 9.1 million tons or 38 per cent, by the year 2000. But the bill drew immediate criticism from environmental groups because, although the bill calls for tighter controls on vehicle emissions and airborne toxic pollutants, which exist under current legislation it does not go as far as the even more stringent laws proposed by the Senate committee. Said Gene Karpinski, director of the Washington-based Public Interest Research Group: "The Clean Air Bill went into the back rooms and it looks like a dirty air bill is coming out."

Senate leaders agreed to the changes after fierce industry lobbying and after a coalition of Republicans threatened to block passage of the bill. And experts said that the bill may still encounter hostility. The full Senate will debate the bill this week and, sometime later this year, it will have to consolidate its legislation with a similar proposal in the House of Representatives. If it overcomes those hurdles, Ottawa and Washington will negotiate a bilateral accord to reduce transboundary emissions. For Canadians concerned about the deterioration of the country's lakes and forests, last week's compromise offers some hope that the blight of acid rain may soon be curtailed.

HILARY MACKENZIE *in Washington*

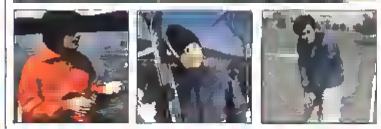
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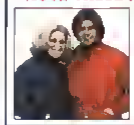
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EXPOSING JAPAN INC.

HIGH INTEREST RATES DERAIL THE TOKYO STOCK MARKET AND THREATEN JAPAN'S STRONG ECONOMY

Like a sumo wrestler growing stronger with each victory, the Tokyo stock exchange surged ever higher over the past decade. But last month the value of shares on the exchange dropped by $700 billion in little more than a week, temporarily jolting other financial markets around the world. At first, the nervous New York Stock Exchange followed its powerful counterpart but last week Wall Street shrugged off the Japanese shadow and surged ahead as investors decided that the health of the world's financial markets did not depend on economic events in Tokyo alone. Said Julian Mayo, a British investment-fund manager in Tokyo: "We are seeing another one of the great precepts of the 1980s being punctured. Just as heavyweight champion Mike Tyson was not invincible, neither is the Tokyo stock market."

After rebounding earlier last week, the Tokyo stock exchange's bellwether Nikkei stock index fell by 762.41 points on Friday to close the week at 33,829.58, down 9.7 per cent from Feb. 16—the day the market began its sudden descent. And as the Nikkei crashed, a battle between the state Bank of Japan and the ministry of finance over monetary policy clearly exposed a growing menace to the Japanese economy—inflation and rising interest rates. The bank, deeply concerned about inflation, which is now running at more than three per cent compared with 0.8 per cent a year ago, wants to raise interest rates for the fourth time in 10 months, even if that forces a massive sell-off on the Tokyo exchange. But the powerful finance department, which regulates the exchange, believes that the current 4.5-per-cent interest rate is high enough.

Amid growing economic problems in Japan, President George Bush and Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu met last Friday and Saturday at a California desert resort to discuss a number of contentious trade and economic questions that will also be felt on the floor of the Tokyo exchange—including how to reverse the yen's downward drift without drastically boosting Japanese interest rates. After the sessions, both leaders pledged to resolve their countries' trade disputes. Bush said that both men would instruct their negotiators to "redouble their efforts."

The crisis on the Tokyo exchange has been growing over a long period. The great bull run, which began in earnest in 1985, was fuelled by the so-called triple merits—falling interest rates, an appreciating yen, and declining international prices for oil, an imported energy source on which Japan is critically dependent. But over the past two years, those trends have all reversed, and now what Tokyo investors call a double demerit has set in. Since Jan. 1, the yen has lost five per cent of its value against its archrival, the greenback, and inflation, fed in part by rising oil prices, is adding to the upward pressure on interest rates. Many economists say that officials with Japan's four largest securities firms, who control 60 per cent of all trading on the Tokyo exchange, seriously underestimated the trend to higher interest rates, both in Japan and worldwide. As a result, they have been caught off guard as other investors sell off stocks and purchase high-interest-paying investments at home and abroad.

The continuing tumult on the exchange last week also underscored something far less tangible than stocks and bonds in Japan: the perception that somehow the island nation's powerful economy, the second largest in the world with a gross domestic product (GDP) of $2.8 trillion, was exempt from the economic storms that have battered its competitors. That perception is acute in the United States, where despite far higher worker-productivity levels and a GDP of $5.2 trillion, polls show that Americans see a Japanese economic takeover as the greatest single threat to their security. Many leading U.S. executives voice the same fear. Says Chrysler Motors chairman Bennett Bidwell: "We, the great believer in free enterprise, are having our pants removed, an inch at a time, by a centrally orchestrated, totally committed economic aggressor."

Those American fears were reinforced last year, when powerful Japanese firms purchased a number of American corporate and cultural jewels. Among them: Sony Corp.'s $4.4-billion purchase of the Columbia Inc. entertainment conglomerate in October, and a month later, Mitsubishi Estate Co.'s $992-million takeover of 51 per cent of Rockefeller Group Inc., which owns New York City's Rockefeller Center, home of the Radio City Music Hall. But now, with the Tokyo exchange in decline, and inflation and international monetary pressures leading the way to even higher interest rates, economists such as Mayo say that Japan's reputation as an unstoppable economic Goliath has been shattered.

As Japan's image of invincibility crumbled under a wash of sell orders, the country battled to come to terms with the new reality emerging in its wake: that economic fortunes are not purely a domestic affair, but are closely linked to events in other countries. Michael Gregory, an economist who studies Japan for the Royal Bank of Canada in Toronto, says that Japanese finance officials apparently thought that rapidly increasing consumer prices, a virtually unknown occurrence in postwar Japan, were a temporary phenomenon, and that interest rates could easily be regulated. Gregory adds that, by the time they finally realized last year that inflation—mainly in real estate and food—was a problem, it was too late, and Japan's central bank was forced to launch its stiff rapid-fire series of interest-rate hikes.

Japan's consumers are already paying astronomical prices for everyday goods. A recent survey found that the prices of 122 products were 41.37-per-cent higher in Japan than in the United States. In Japan, where the average monthly wage is the equivalent of almost $2,700, cantaloupes sell for $50 apiece compared with $2.99 in Canada, and a kilogram of rice sells for $5.50 against $1.99 in this country. And the Japanese may have the highest housing costs in the world. The average Japanese home is so small that bedrooms often double as living rooms, and they cost 10 times as much as their Canadian counterparts.

Some of the economic problems that were laid so glaringly bare by the Nikkei's tumble are complicated by critical international monetary agreements. In 1985, the leaders of the world's top five industrial countries signed the Plaza Accord in New York. The accord was designed to reduce dramatically the U.S. trade deficit—currently at $130 billion worldwide and at $52 billion with Japan—by bringing the value of the dollar down, making U.S. exports more competitive. And as Bush headed west to Palm Springs, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater pointedly said, "We expect Prime Minister Kaifu will come to understand the extent of our concern in this area."

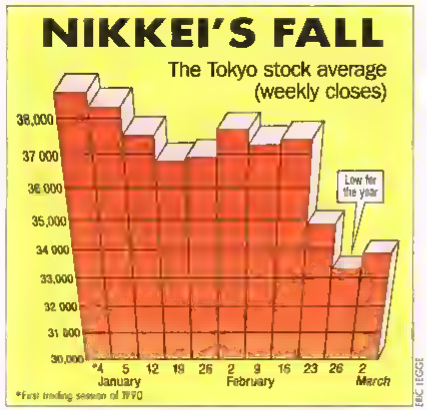
Under the terms of the Plaza Accord and subsequent agreements, central banks, including Japan's, agreed to bring the greenback down in value, even if that included propping up the value of their own currencies with higher domestic interest rates. But now, with the yen falling against the dollar and inflation rising, Japan's central bank is under immense pressure to stabilize the yen and hold inflation in check.

Other powerful international factors are also buffeting the Japanese economy and Tokyo stock exchange. Global interest rates have risen steeply since the beginning of the year, primarily because the West German government has been forced to keep raising interest rates to cool its inflation, now running at 2.8 per cent, compared with 1.2 per cent in 1988. And as the demand for capital grows around the world, that is also putting upward pressure on Japan's interest rates. But as President Bush and Prime Minister Kaifu argued over their differences, even the desert sunshine of a California winter could not warm the cold winds buffeting Tokyo.

TOM FENNELL *with correspondents' reports*



Tokyo's Ginza shopping area: 'punctured'



Business Notes

AN ECONOMIC SURPRISE
Contrary to the pessimistic predictions of many economists, Canada's economy grew by 0.5 per cent in the final quarter of 1989 and 2.9 per cent for the year as a whole, fuelled in large part by strong consumer spending. The forecasters, including major Canadian economists, had predicted that the gross domestic product figures released by Statistics Canada last week would show negative growth.

INTEREST RATES CLIMB
In an effort to support the Canadian dollar, which has declined by almost three cents (U.S.) this year, the Bank of Canada raised its trendsetting rate by 0.16 percentage points last week to 13.41 per cent, its highest level since September, 1982. In response, the dollar strengthened slightly, closing the week at 83.87 cents against the U.S. dollar, compared with 83.35 cents a week ago.

DEEPER IN DEBT
Canadians slipped further into debt than ever before in 1989. Statistics Canada reported that total outstanding consumer debt rose by $8.2 billion to $333.1 billion. On average, individuals owed an amount equivalent to a record 74.7 per cent of their personal disposable income, compared with 73.3 per cent in 1988.

LOSING ALTITUDE
Calgary-based PWA Corp., the parent company of Canadian Airlines International Ltd., reported a $56-million loss for 1989—its first loss in 19 years—after electing to write off the entire $73.8-million cost of buying money-losing Wardair Inc. Meanwhile, despite a $44-million loss in the final quarter, Air Canada reported a 67-per-cent increase in its profit for 1989 to $149 million. But the figure was inflated by the $86-million gain that the former Crown corporation realized from selling its 37-per-cent stake in an Irish aircraft-leasing company.

PERRIER COMEBACK
A spokesman for Paris-based Source Perrier SA said that it will reintroduce its sparkling mineral water with new labels showing that the water was bottled after Feb. 17, when it recalled 160 million bottles from stores after benzene was discovered in some supplies.

MAGNA'S ROUGH ROAD
Beleaguered automobile-parts manufacturer Magna International Inc. of Markham, Ont.—hit hard by slumping car sales—will reduce the book value of its assets by as much as $150 million.



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G E Noble
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A C Hynes
CEO 1927–1930



Sir Vandeleur Grayburn
CEO 1930–1941



Sir Arthur Morse, CBE
CEO 1941–1953



F de Bovis
CEO 1891–1893



Sir Thomas Jackson Bt
CEO 1876–1886 1887–1889
1890–1891 1893–1902



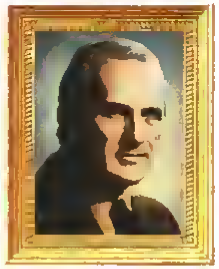
J R M Smith
CEO 1902–1910



Sir Michael Turner CBE
CEO 1953–1962



Sir John Saunders
CEO, 1962–1972



G M Sayer CBE
CEO 1972–1977



Sir Newton Stabb
CEO, 1910–1920



A G Stephen
CEO, 1920–1924



A H Barlow
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Sculley, Jobs (bottom): intriguing personalities and futuristic technology

A computer war game

Internal problems and an old ally confront Apple

The stage was stark and spare—a compact black personal computer on a simple table next to a spotlit vase of white tulips. And as Steven Jobs gave a European audience its first formal look at his NeXT computer at the London Palladium late last month, he too fit into the scene, soberly dressed in a dark-grey suit, white shirt and dark tie. Now 35, Jobs rarely appears in public anymore in the blue jeans that he favored as the legendary cofounder of upstart Apple Computer Inc. in 1976. But, despite his understated appearance, the onlookers in London clearly were just as intrigued by the man as by his machine. Five years after he was forced out of Apple, the mercurial Jobs has re-emerged as a key figure in its battle against giant International Business Machines Corp. (IBM). Now, however, he is an ally of IBM, Apple's bitter rival. And as the battle for a $360-billion worldwide market plays itself out—like an intricate computer war game—the personalities of the combatants are once again threatening to overshadow the futuristic technology that they have developed and nurtured.

In addition to facing off against industry leader IBM, Apple is also struggling with internal problems. Since January, the Cupertino, Calif.-based company has been ravaged by an embarrassing power struggle between chairman John Sculley and some of his leading executives. That dispute climaxed last Friday when Jean-Louis Gassée, the flamboyant, French-born vice-president who headed Apple's new product development until Sculley demoted him last month, announced that he will leave the company in September. The internal bickering arose at an inopportune time. Last month, the company announced that it will lay off 400 of the 12,000 employees at its headquarters because of slowing sales. And while it was widely hailed for its breathtaking technological innovations under Jobs, Apple has not introduced a major new product since its hugely successful line of Macintosh II computers in 1987.



KIRKLAND SIGWA

But Jobs's five-year-old NeXT Inc., just 40 km away in Redwood City, is also struggling. Sales of its powerful personal computer, which starts at $12,000 and which Jobs unveiled in October, 1988, but did not begin shipping until last September, have been disappointing. In order to generate cash and enhance NeXT's credibility with buyers and investors, Jobs has sold some of NeXT's state-of-the-art technology to Apple's archrival, Armonk, N.Y.-based IBM. And last month, IBM unveiled the first product of that pivotal alliance—a new line of machines for engineers and product designers known as workstations, which sell for $18,000 and up and which IBM is counting on to help revive its own lacklustre sales and profits. The workstation screens and keyboards resemble those of personal computers, but they can be linked together, or to a larger central computer. And the $7-billion workstation market is growing by about 30 per cent per year.

The turmoil in Apple's executive ranks is the company's first major crisis since Jobs departed in 1985. It follows five years of astonishing sales growth during which the company steadily—until 1989—ate into IBM's share of the personal computer market. For the fiscal year ending last Sept. 30, Apple's worldwide revenues, based largely on the Macintosh II computer, climbed to $3.4 billion, up 21 per cent over 1988 and up from $1.5 billion in 1984.

But, despite the continued revenue growth, there are signs that Apple is facing a slowdown. The company's share of U.S. personal computer sales slipped to 18.4 per cent from 23.7 per cent the previous year. At the same time, IBM and its PS/2 line reversed its decline and captured 34.7 per cent of the personal computer market, compared with 31.4 per cent in 1988.

To prepare for a slowdown, Sculley began slashing costs in January by announcing a major reorganization as well as the layoffs—the first at Apple's headquarters in five years. The job losses have spilled over into Canada, where Apple announced in December that it would cut 60 employees from its workforce of 420 in anticipation of slower sales. Meanwhile, Sculley also obtained the resignation of Allan Loren, the president of Apple USA, and took control himself of the firm's new product design from Gassée.

Many of Apple's employees, however, quickly rushed to the defence of Gassée, 46, who, like Jobs, dropped out of university to enter the

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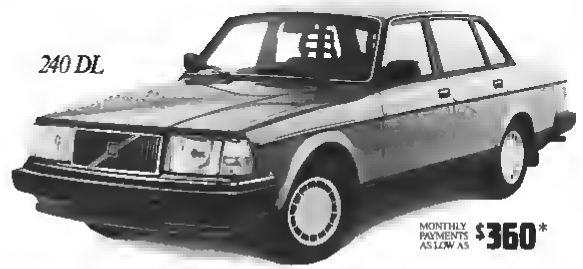
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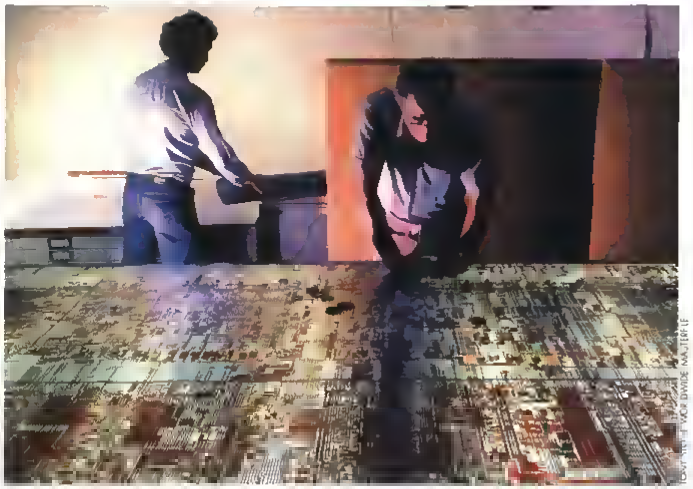




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computer industry and who is fond of leather jackets and wears a diamond-studded earring. On Feb. 9, about 150 employees picketed Apple headquarters, carrying signs supporting Gassée, including one that read "J L G 4 CEO." But last week, Gassée said that he now plans to start or run a computer-related company of his own. Said Gassée: "It's probably a good time to run my own show." Many employees have also assailed Sculley for not controlling costs and for rewarding senior executives with lavish perks and severance packages.



Reducing an electronic diagram for a silicon chip: 'competitive advantage'

Industry analysts say that the cutbacks and the personality clashes within Apple are largely the result of an overall slowdown in computer sales. Says Andrew Toller, vice president of the Toronto-based computer market research firm Miller, Toller & Evans Inc.: "Computer companies have a tendency to get ruthless when they have to cut back."

But Apple Canada Inc. vice-president of marketing, Norman Kirkpatrick says that media reports of the internal dissension at Apple headquarters have been greatly exaggerated. Said Kirkpatrick: "If someone sneezes there, the public thinks they've got pneumonia."

Still, analysts say that a more relevant concern is Apple's failure to introduce a major new product since it began marketing the Macintosh II personal computer in 1987. Says Richard Shaffer, editor and publisher of an influential New York City-based weekly, *The Computer Letter*: "In this business, if you don't get new products out quickly enough, you're in trouble." Added Randy Brophy, a senior research analyst with the Gartner Group Inc., a Stamford, Conn.-based market research firm: "Jobs was feeding Apple some of its best product innovations, and when he left there was a drop-off."

Indeed, Jobs unveiled the original version of Apple's Macintosh in 1983. With its revolutionary hand-held electronic control, the so-called mouse, it was then easily the most technologically advanced and easiest-to-use personal computer. But it also had several important drawbacks that shut it out of the critical business market, which accounts for roughly two-thirds of all personal computer purchases. Indeed, it had little business-oriented software, and it could not communicate with other manufacturers' computers in a network.

As a result, Sculley—whom Jobs recruited as Apple president in 1983 from soft-drink giant Pepsico Inc., where he was president—decided it was necessary to open up the Macintosh and make it more compatible with other manufacturers' systems. That led to a showdown with Jobs, who wanted to protect the machine's unique features.

The struggle ended in September, 1985, when Jobs resigned as Apple chairman to pursue his own business. Sculley then installed Gassée, the former head of Apple's French operations, as the new head of product development. Together, they concentrated on business customers by building more powerful and expensive versions of Apple's existing computers.

But as they tried to capture more of the lucrative business market, Sculley and Gassée began losing Apple's traditional source of support—its committed following of individual users. Last year, sales of the small Apple II computer fell by a startling 52 per cent, as IBM and other lower-priced competitors continued to adopt many of Apple's user-friendly features. Says William Bryant, president of LOGIC, a Toronto-based Apple-users group with about 1,000 members: "All of the new machines Apple is bringing out are too expensive. Nobody's going to spend $6,500 to do some word processing on the kitchen table." He added that Sculley lacks Jobs's vision. Says Bryant: "Most users think that Sculley should go back to selling sugar water. Apple seems to have lost its sense of being part of a social revolution."

Meanwhile, since he founded NeXT with $7 million of his own money in 1985, Jobs has generated a flood of publicity and raised more than $130 million from investors to support his new computer. But so far, NeXT has not made a significant dent in the marketplace. Although Jobs declines to disclose NeXT's sales because it is a private company, analysts estimate that NeXT has sold, at most, only a few thousand of its black, cube-shaped machines.

Jobs now faces the same criticisms that contributed to his problems at Apple. NeXT was to provide a middle ground between small, easy-to-use personal computers and engineering workstations, which draw on a larger computer for programs and additional power. But NeXT requires unique software, and critics say that it interconnects poorly with other machines. Meanwhile, NeXT is earning substantial royalties from IBM's new workstations, which analysts estimate could amount to $60 million this year alone.

Still, analysts also say that Jobs's alliance with the world's largest computer-maker is risky because the NeXT computer and the IBM workstations are targeted at similar users. Says Toller: "Giving the user interface to IBM, while legitimizing NeXT, is also giving away a possible competitive advantage."

IBM, meanwhile, is counting on office workstations to help reverse its disappointing profit performance over the past four years. Last year, even though IBM's worldwide revenues increased by five per cent to $62.7 billion, its profit fell by 35 per cent to $3.76 billion. And although IBM is roughly 10 times the size of Apple, the 75-year-old giant captured only about two per cent of the workstation market.

When IBM unveiled its new workstations last month, analysts quickly praised the machines' performance and relatively low price. They added that the workstation is proof that a painful four-year restructuring program at IBM is paying off. Since 1986, the company has reduced its worldwide staff to 387,000 from 405,500 by offering employees generous benefits for early retirement. But IBM Canada Ltd. has remained largely immune to its parent's downturn, and currently employs 13,000 people across Canada, up from 11,725 in 1984.

And now, IBM—the Goliath of the computer industry—has secured the assistance of Jobs, the technological visionary who provided its much smaller but still bothersome rival with its most powerful ammunition.

JOHN DALY *with DAVID TODD in Toronto and ANNE BEIRNE in San Francisco*

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The return of the native capitalist

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Tom Bata wants to help Czechoslovakia modernize and rebuild its industrial base, and is willing to risk millions to do so

No Canadian businessman is more intensely involved in the turmoil sweeping Eastern Europe than Tom Bata, the 75-year-old Toronto-based chairman and chief proprietor of the $3-billion enterprise that manufactures 300 million pairs of shoes a year and had its start in the small Moravian town of Zlin before the Second World War. He has become such a potent symbol of Czechoslovakia's economic rehabilitation process that, if he agrees to spend the millions of dollars required to modernize his factory, it will be an important signal for Western investors to follow into the other liberated onetime Soviet satellites.

While Czechoslovakian government officials are trying to come up with an acceptable formula for privatizing the huge Bata manufacturing complex, the issue is complicated by the fact that Bata insists he really can't be expected to buy back something he already owns. "I would like to see some form of restitution for the Communists' original takeover," he told me in a recent interview, "but we are more interested in putting new work into the country and making a contribution, than getting a chunk of money. Whatever happens, we want to help develop Czechoslovakia's industrial activity rather than trying to milk the place."

That altruistic approach from one of Canada's toughest international businessmen no doubt flows from the welcome Bata received when he returned to Prague last December for the first time since he left on March 13, 1939, just two days before Czechoslovakia was invaded by Germany. "It was the culmination of my life," he recalls. "Nothing could be as exciting as standing between the hoofs of the statue of St. Wenceslas in the centre of Prague, with a microphone in my hand and multitudes of people in front of me cheering every word I said. Part of that salute would have been for the folk memory of the good job our company did the last time the country was free. But I also kept the Bata name alive by doing broadcasts for the Americans over Radio Free Europe and sponsoring televised soccer matches seen behind what was then the Iron Curtain."

He met President Václav Havel, and the two men hit it off immediately. He was wearing corduroy pants and some sort of jacket with an open-neck shirt," Bata remembers, "and when he lit up a cigarette he told me: 'Gee, if this was your father's business, he'd fire me. But I'm hooked on cigarettes for the moment.'" Havel advised Bata to go back to Zlin, where he would be in for a pleasant surprise. The company town was such a monument to capitalism that Czechoslovakia's first Communist president, Klement Gottwald, renamed it Gottwaldov after himself. One of Havel's first political decisions was to restore the former name, and, by the time Bata arrived, the transformation had been completed—even if some of the paint on the new sign was still wet.

"The original factory buildings were there just as I remembered them half a century ago," says Bata, "but they seemed old and dusty. My first visit was to the grave of my father, Tomás, and I was rather touched by the fact that there were so few people in the cemetery, only the old men who tended the flowers. Everyone seemed very considerate of my emotions.

"We were welcomed into the factory by the company band, which used to be smartly turned out, with all the instruments more brightly polished, but they played well and chose the right kind of tunes. We then took the famous elevator to the various floors of the administration building and had a good look around."

That 15-storey structure, once the highest reinforced concrete office tower in Europe, had an elevator equipped by Bata's father as a floating office so that he wouldn't have to waste time between floors. It held his filing system and communications equipment so that, whenever he wanted to confer with groups of executives on any of the floors, he would just push a button and appear in their midst.

Bata found some of the equipment in fairly good shape, though not up to the standards of automation he uses in most of his shoemaking plants in less developed countries. "But a lot of the machinery," he reports, "is more than 50 years old and definitely needs to be replaced."

It's difficult to estimate how deeply the workforce would have to be cut to accommodate modern production techniques. At the moment, the entire enterprise employs about 85,000 people and turns out 100 million pairs of shoes per year under the Svit label. Most of them are shipped to the U.S.S.R. Bata has a task force at Zlin at the moment and he is waiting for its detailed technical report, but thinks that at least 10,000 workers would be declared redundant in a modernized factory. "We're interested in finding a way of operating the show and participating or getting the factory back, but the Czechoslovakian government is still groping for an appropriate policy to bring it about."

Tom Bata's wife, Sonja, who is a full partner in the enterprise, points out that one of the big problems is establishing a true price for merchandise, because for 40 years there was a state monopoly. "In Prague," she told me, "there are 90 shoe stores serving 1.5 million people, which clearly isn't enough. In calculating retail prices they have not taken into account store rentals, amortization of equipment or any maintenance costs—so you have a totally unrealistic price structure. There are also subsidies and taxes—a 30-per-cent allowance for children's shoes and a 47.3-per-cent sales tax on adult leather shoes." The real problem is that there is little connection between production and distribution departments as well as the inability of existing production lines to cater to customers' preferences, with too many standard lines and little attempt at original styling.

For the moment, the Batas plan to reopen at least two Prague shoe stores and test the market, partly with imported merchandise. When the company's task force report becomes available and the Czechoslovakian government formulates its privatization laws, there is little doubt that the Batas will reclaim their factory and boost the quality and quantity of production into one of their major units.

Knowing the Bata operating methods, it will eventually be a moneymaking proposition. But bottom lines don't count quite as much once you've been standing between the hoofs of a saint on horseback.



Prague: a splendid assortment of medieval and Baroque architecture

Cafe Hungary, Budapest: just being there makes up for the lack of Western amenities

TRAVEL

Into a new world

Eastern Europe enjoys a tourist boom

For more than 30 years, tourists from Western nations have tended to avoid most Communist-ruled Eastern European countries because of their reputation for inferior hotels, impenetrable bureaucracy and grim socialist regimentation. But now the wave of political change that transformed the region during the past seven months has launched a tourist boom. Growing numbers of Canadian, American and Western European travellers are booking trips to Eastern European destinations. And many returning travellers say that the excitement of being there makes up for the general lack of Western-style amenities. Diane McDougall, for one, a 27-year-old magazine editor from Toronto who visited the Soviet Union in November, said that she was awed by the Kremlin, the seat of Soviet power. "It's such a powerful place with its walls and the armory," she said. McDougall added that the "bad food, bad hotels and bad service" she encountered in the Soviet Union only added to the thrill of being there.

McDougall is one of a growing number of tourists visiting the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, including Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. This year, an estimated 100,000 Canadians will travel to those countries, roughly a 15-per-cent increase over 1989, say industry sources. A similar growth is under way involving travellers from the United States. Pan American World Airways reported a 25-per-cent increase in bookings to Eastern Europe during the last three months of 1989. Compared with such better-established destinations as Britain, which had 2.8 million American visitors in 1989, the number of North Americans travelling to Eastern Europe remains relatively small. But travel agencies and tour operators say that traffic to Eastern Europe will continue to grow. Said David Vaughan, director of marketing at Toronto's Marlin Travel Inc., "It's a whole new world opening up."

One factor holding back the flow of tourists into Eastern Europe is the shortage of acceptable hotel accommodation. As well, Western tourists often complain that the hotels that do exist lack such amenities as toilet paper and clean towels and offer mediocre food at high prices. Indeed, some Eastern Europeans say that they are embarrassed by the low standard of living in their countries. Said Ewa Gajewska, a journalist in Warsaw: "I am ashamed of what Poland has to offer."

Still, many Westerners appear willing to overlook the shortcomings of the nations they visit. Declared Peter McKenna, a tourist from Marlowe, England, who recently visited Moscow: "Our hotel room is about 20 or 30 years behind the times, but it is perfectly adequate and clean. The food is pretty basic, but you don't come for the food, do you?" And many Western tourists say that discovering the beauty of European cities such as Prague and Budapest more than makes up for any lack of material comfort.

The lower standards result in relatively inexpensive travel. Cheap package tours include a three-week stay at the Hungarian island resort of Margit Sziget on the Danube River in Budapest for just $1,899 per person (including airfares and two meals a day), offered by Toronto's Apollo Travel Ltd. Hagen's Travel, a Vancouver agency, offers a 13-day bus tour of Moscow, Leningrad and the Baltic republics, including hotel accommodation and most meals, starting at $2,602. Travellers who prefer first-class hotel accommodation often have to pay a high price for it in Eastern Europe. The only Western-style luxury hotel in Moscow is the city's 86-room Savoy, where a room costs 240 rubles (about $480) a night.

Western tourism in Eastern Europe has been growing steadily in recent years as many of the former Communist Bloc nations gradually relaxed their authoritarian grip and began seeking Western investment. According to Statistics Canada, Canadians made only 38,000 visits to the Soviet Union and other Eastern European nations in 1980. But in 1987, that number had almost doubled to 66,000. Now, the flow is increasing for a variety of reasons. Many Western tourists are simply vacationers whose curiosity has been aroused by the dramatic political events in the region. At the same time, businessmen encouraged by economic reforms are flocking to Eastern Europe in the hope of cashing in on the winds of change.

As well, government and travel industry officials point out that, because of political change in Eastern Europe, many expatriates now say they feel there is less risk involved in returning to the countries of their birth. Indeed, travel industry experts say that more than half of the North Americans visiting some Eastern European countries go there to visit friends and relatives.

Faced with the growing influx of Western tourists, most Eastern Bloc nations have launched plans for new hotel construction, often with Western investment. In Budapest, five new hotels are currently under construction, all involving foreign capital. In Poland, there are plans to build 21 new hotels by the end of 1993. Meanwhile, travel experts warn that tourists making their first foray into Eastern Europe should be prepared for pleasant surprises—but also some nasty shocks. A guide to the major capitals of the former Iron Curtain nations:

Moscow: Tourist sights include the breathtaking expanse of Red Square with the Kremlin and ornate St. Basil's Cathedral and the Arbat, a Victorian-era street now frequented by artists and musicians. Still, Moscow can be a difficult city for tourists. Accurate street maps are hard to find, and it is not advisable to rent a car. Buses are invariably jammed and bumpy, but the Metro (subway), with its elaborately decorated stations, is a must for tourists. There is a severe shortage of hotel rooms, and some Canadian tourists who arrived without reservations in recent months were forced to sleep on the floor of the Canadian Embassy.

Warsaw: One of Warsaw's main attractions is its beautifully restored Old Town, about half a square mile of winding alleys and graceful squares. The area was almost totally rebuilt after the Germans destroyed the city near the end of the Second World War. A documentary film on that destruction is regularly screened at the Warsaw city museum. Outside of the Old Town and the Royal Castle, Warsaw's near-total destruction left little of architectural interest. Western visitors snap up examples of Polish ceramics, art, glass and silverware.

East Berlin: When the Allied powers divided Berlin at the end of the war, the Communists took over the oldest part of the city, including the historic Unter den Linden Avenue, which is lined with museums, universities and cathedrals. But the city is marred by some of the ugliest buildings erected by the Communist leadership. It is possible to eat well in East Berlin, almost as well as in the West, and at about a fifth of the price.

Prague: The Czechoslovakian capital is often described as the most beautiful Eastern European city. Largely undamaged during the war, Prague has a splendid assortment of medieval and Baroque architecture, ranging from the Old Town Square with its 500-year-old astrological clock, to Hradčany Castle on the other side of the Vltava River. Like many Eastern European countries, Czechoslovakia has severely polluted air.

Budapest: Some travellers say that this city, astride the Danube River, is Eastern Europe's most dramatic. One of the best of the city's generally good restaurants is the Apostolok, which offers affordable food in a traditional church-like setting. Budapest has exceptionally fine architecture, including the historic Castle Hill district on the right bank of the Danube and the handsome Parliament Buildings on the left bank. Because Hungary has had a liberal political atmosphere for more than two decades, Budapest has a more relaxed, Westernized style.



East Berlin: Western tourists are seen as a welcome sign of change

Faced by a growing influx of foreign tourists, many citizens of Eastern European countries say that they regard Western visitors as a welcome sign of change. Before political reform swept Hungary, said Adrienne Haspel, a 22-year-old translator in Budapest, "foreigners were frightened of coming here. Now, they bring us more money and more jobs, and they are surprised to see how Western it is."

Political observers predict that the quickening pace of change will continue to attract Western economic investment which is already symbolized by the presence of McDonald's hamburger outlets in Moscow and Budapest. For that reason, Toronto's McDougall says that venturesome Canadians who want to discover the real Eastern Europe should go there now, and "not in a couple of years when McDonald's has taken over."

ANNA PRODANOU *with* **ANDREW PHILLIPS** *in London,* **ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH** *in Moscow and correspondents reports*

LAW

A child's odyssey

Police find a missing girl in New Zealand

It began as a dispute between a divorced couple and quickly developed into a complicated and bitter custody battle. In August, 1987, Dr. Elizabeth Morgan, a Washington plastic surgeon, refused to obey a judge's order that she turn over her five year-old daughter, Hilary, to her ex-husband for a two-week visit. Morgan said that her former husband, dental surgeon Dr. Eric Foretich, had sexually abused the child since she was 2½ years old. Soon after that, Hilary disappeared with Morgan's parents, and District of Columbia Superior Court Judge Herbert Dixon Jr. sent Elizabeth Morgan to prison after she refused to say where her daughter was. Then, late last month, Washington police officials said that they had located Hilary, now 7, living with her grandparents in Christchurch, New Zealand, where a family court judge will decide where, and with whom, the girl should live.

Foretich flew to New Zealand to attend custody hearings that were expected to begin this week. "I intend to see my daughter and I have every intention of bringing her back home," Foretich told reporters at Auckland airport. In Christchurch, reporters descended on the Diplomat Motel, where, for the past 18 months, the girl and her grandparents, Antonia and William Morgan, had been living. Last month, a family court judge in Christchurch awarded the Morgans temporary custody of Hilary, then issued an order banning public comment on the case in New Zealand. Meanwhile, in Washington, questions were raised about the suitability of the 79-year-old William Morgan as the girl's protector.



Hilary: side effects

It was a routine inquiry from New Zealand immigration officials to the FBI in Washington that revealed where the girl was being hidden. Hilary's grandparents had filed for permanent resident status in New Zealand several months ago, and the authorities there checked with the FBI to see whether Morgan or his wife were wanted by police. When FBI officials checked the records, they discovered that the Washington police were trying to find Antonia and William Morgan.

For the Morgans and their granddaughter, the sleepy southern New Zealand city (population 330 000) was the last stop in a journey that took them to five countries including Canada, and more than halfway around the world. In July, 1987, the Morgans travelled with Hilary from their home in Fairfax, Va., to the Bahamas. Later they went to Toronto, where Antonia Morgan, now 75, received treatment for a rheumatic condition. Next, the Morgans took Hilary to Vancouver. But the Morgans told reporters that they were concerned that Vancouver was too close to the United States. As a result they moved to Britain, where they lived at various times in Scotland and England. After a newspaper revealed their identities in 1988, the three moved to New Zealand.

The tangled family dispute had its origins when Foretich and Elizabeth Morgan first met at Fairfax Hospital, where they both were on staff. Within a few months, Morgan became pregnant and the couple married in January, 1982. But even before Hilary was born on Aug. 21, the couple had separated. Two years later, a judge gave Morgan custody of Hilary, but allowed Foretich liberal visitation rights. According to statements made by Morgan in court in 1985 and 1986, Hilary said in 1985 that her father had sexually abused her. Foretich denies the charges, and a court has ruled that there is no independent evidence that they are true.



Hilary with her grandparents: the subject of grave controversy

Morgan attracted widespread sympathy during her 25 months in prison. She was freed in September after President George Bush signed legislation limiting terms for her offence to 12 months. The case continued to create controversy. Some experts have questioned whether Elizabeth Morgan did the best thing by allowing her parents to take Hilary out of the country. Dr. Gerald Wiener, president of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, said that the child's ordeal could "have significant and long-lasting effects. You would look for a child who would have severe separation anxiety and elements of depression."

As well, questions arose about the character of William Morgan. After examining public records of the 1986 court hearings, *The Washington Times* reported that Dr. Elissa Benedek, a prominent psychiatrist who conducted court-ordered examinations of all the central figures in the case, had concluded that William Morgan was suffering from a "mixed personality disorder." Benedek also said, according to court documents reported in the *Times*, that Elizabeth Morgan had a "very disturbing relationship" with her father and that her mother, Antonia Morgan, had told Benedek that she was physically abused by her husband during a 30-year period.

For her part, Elizabeth Morgan last week recovered her passport, which Dixon ordered confiscated after he sentenced her to prison. Morgan said that she now plans to go to New Zealand to join in the latest custody battle. William Morgan told reporters in Christchurch that, following their discovery, Hilary had spoken to her mother, by telephone for the first time in 2½ years. Added Antonia Morgan: "When she heard her mother, she broke down in tears. We have got letters through various channels, but this was the first time she had spoken on the phone to her." The issue of when—or if—they meet again now rests in the hands of a judge who faces a decision of truly Solomonic proportions.

NORA UNDERWOOD *with* BARRY CLARKE
in Christchurch





The Sweet Science's real-life drama

BY TRENT FRAYNE

In one of the all-time shockers in a game that the renowned boxing writer A. J. Liebling chose to call The Sweet Science, a man named James (Buster) Douglas, formerly known only to his parents and a few intimate friends recently dismantled the previously indestructible Mike Tyson. This made Douglas the heavyweight boxing champion of the explored galaxy.

The result was a stunner; some say the biggest stunner since the invention of padded mittens. It is not as though upsets are unknown in the fight game. In 1964, a brash kid just turned 22, named Cassius Clay, knocked out the baleful-visaged heavyweight king, Sonny Liston. In 1978, a youth of 24, Leon Spinks, who had fought only seven professional fights, won a split decision from the overwhelmingly favored Muhammad Ali, who had long since abandoned the name Cassius Clay. In 1935, James J. Braddock, a shopworn journeyman who, six years earlier, had lost his challenge for the *light* heavyweight championship, won the heavyweight crown in a 15-round decision over Max Baer, a handsome slugger who had killed two men in the ring and had knocked down the monster Primo Carnera 12 times for the title a year earlier.

Still, the fight everybody resurrected in an effort to find one whose outcome was as unexpected as the Douglas victory over Tyson went back nearly 64 years to a rainy night in Philadelphia when Gene Tunney won a unanimous 10-round decision over the feared and ferocious Jack Dempsey, the Manassa Mauler, the Mike Tyson of his day and then some. That was in Philadelphia's enormous Sesquicentennial Stadium before 120,757 damp witnesses in September of 1926.

For seven years, from 1919 when he mercilessly browbeat the overgrown Jess Willard, six feet, 6¼ inches and 250 lb., for three rounds to win the crown, until Tunney very nearly punched him blind and took his title that night in Philadelphia, Dempsey was a savage ruler. In battering Willard, Dempsey knocked

The fight everybody resurrected in an effort to find one whose end was as unexpected as the Tyson loss went back nearly 64 years

down the giant seven times, and one left hook had broken his cheekbone in 13 places. "He was a tiger without mercy," sportswriter Red Smith wrote of him in *The New York Times*. "He shuffled forward in a bobbing crouch, humming a barely audible tune and punching to the rhythm of the song. He was 187 lb. of unbridled violence."

All through his reign, Dempsey was among the most unpopular athletes in the United States. Partly that was because of perceived viciousness and partly it was that he was reviled as a slacker during the First World War, a patriotic time in America. That perception of him was fanned by Tex Rickard, the promoter of his 1921 fight with Georges Carpentier. Carpentier, a pale, slender, angelic-looking fellow, had been decorated in the French army during the war and was exalted in publicity as a hero daring to engage the crude slacker, David and Goliath stuff, pure and simple. That helped attract 80,183 fans to a huge wooden arena in Jersey City. There, Dempsey hacked down the war hero in four rounds.

He remained unpopular until the night Tunney rearranged his features in 1926. Afterward, in a roomful of people at his hotel, Dempsey's actress wife, a lovely brunette named Estelle Taylor, caressed his lumpy kisser. "Ginsberg," she said, using her pet name for him, "what happened?"

And Dempsey, with a wan grin, replied, "Honey, I forgot to duck."

When the great American unwashed read of the humility of the despised slacker, they drew him to their broad forgiving bosoms, and from then on Dempsey became one of that bewildering country's beloved heroes.

Curiously, a movie of Dempsey's life was never made. This often struck me as perplexing, for Hollywood has left few of its sports stars unscathed. Think of William Bendix as Babe Ruth, Gary Cooper as Lou Gehrig, Paul Newman as Rocky Graziano, Errol Flynn as James J. Corbett, Greg McClure as John L. Sullivan, Coley Wallace as Joe Louis, James Earl Jones as Jack Johnson, Robert De Niro as Jake LaMotta, plus all the *Rocky* horror shows with what's his name getting all lathered with ketchup, or whatever it is they use on this monosyllabic oaf.

However, one recent noontime I lunched with an old friend, Clyde Gilmour, the former film critic for this magazine and later *The Toronto Star* and after noting in passing that my world of sports had undergone a traumatic experience in the previous night's upset of Tyson in Tokyo, my companion asked between mouthfuls of wiener schnitzel: "By the way, I suppose you know why a movie was never made of the life of Jack Dempsey."

"No, I don't know," I said, instantly intrigued. "You mean there was a definite reason?"

It appears there was, a little-known story stumbled upon by Gilmour 20 years ago or so in an interview backstage with the actor Robert Ryan, who was on Broadway then in the Charles MacArthur and Ben Hecht classic *The Front Page*, playing a lead role as Walter Burns, the conniving managing editor.

Pressed for details, Gilmour said he'd spent a half-hour with the tall, laid-back actor who had starred in one of the best fight flicks ever made, *The Set Up*. "He told me that the most grievous disappointment of his life was Jack Dempsey's amiable but stubborn refusal to let Ryan do Jack's life story as a movie unless the script left out all the unpopularity Dempsey endured pre-Tunney."

Reflecting, my man sipped his German lager as I urged him to continue. "Bob would have been perfect in the Dempsey role. He looked a little like him and he wanted to do it so much, he'd have been willing to work for scale if necessary. Dempsey thought Ryan would be an ideal choice, but he wouldn't consent to any mention whatever of Jack's notoriety as a supposed slacker. He wouldn't let the script hint that millions of fans wanted the decorated ex-warrior, Carpentier, to beat him. Ryan said Jack seemed honestly convinced that he had *always* been a public idol. He had swept that dark stuff under the carpet. Ryan and others from Hollywood pleaded with Dempsey to realize that the dark stuff was essential in a true dramatic story, but he wouldn't allow a movie to be made."

One can only wish that the perpetrator of the Rocky role had been as considerate.

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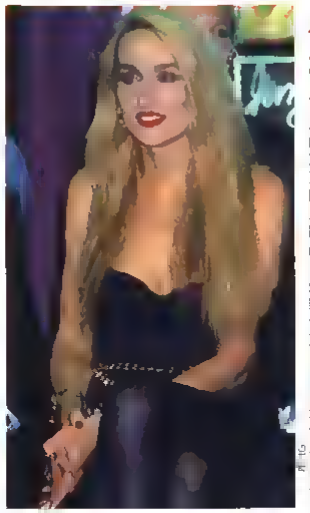
A SWEET RETURN TO SUCCESS

For pop legend Smokey Robinson, glory days are back again. In 1960, Robinson launched one of the most successful careers in pop history with a string of hits that included *Shop Around*. But in the 1980s, his fortune changed: the singer developed a cocaine habit and in 1988 his close relationship with his Motown label suffered when it was sold to an entertainment consortium. Now, Robinson, 50, who said that he has kicked his drug habit, is making a comeback with a hit song, *Everything You Touch*, from his new album, *Love, Smokey*. Said Robinson: "Life is the best, the sweetest it has ever been."



Robinson: celebrating with a hit record

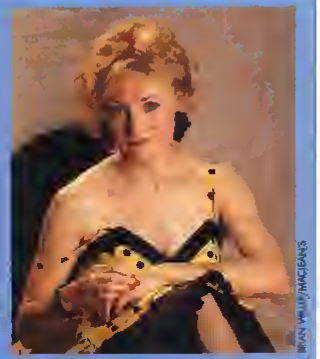
Acting in a shadow



For London theatre critics, **Jerry Hall** cannot upstage the ghost of **Marilyn Monroe**. Hall, 33, a Texas-born model and **Mick Jagger**'s fiancée made her West End debut last week in *Bus Stop*, starring as the talentless singer Cherie in a role immortalized by Monroe in the 1956 movie. According to the reviewers, Hall, at six feet, is too big and self-assured to portray the vulnerable Cherie as well as Monroe did. Describing Hall as a "horse," **Charles Spencer** of *The Daily Telegraph* wrote: "The mixture of pathos and sexiness which Monroe brought to the role is missing." That seemed to leave the Monroe legend intact.

Hall: talentless singer

A headache



Dunsmore: covered in plaster

For Canadian actress **Rosemary Dunsmore**, making a movie with **Arnold Schwarzenegger** proved to be an ordeal. Dunsmore, 34, who plays a doctor who physically subdues the strongman in *Total Recall*, to be released this summer, said that their fight was a "ball"—compared to having a cast made of her head for use in a murder scene. "It was awful having my entire head covered in plaster," said the Toronto native. But worse, she said, was that she had suffered in vain. Declared Dunsmore: "They took a cast of the wrong person—my character doesn't get killed."

STARTING FROM SCRATCH

He is acclaimed for his poetry and his novels, but at heart Canadian author Michael Ondaatje says that he is "a frustrated film-maker." Now, at 46, he is about to begin work on his lifelong passion. Ondaatje was chosen, along with 12 other professionals from more than 200 applicants, to spend nine months making movies at director Norman Jewison's Toronto-based Canadian Centre for Advanced Film Studies. Alumni of the two-year-old program include actress Margot Kidder and photographer Gail Harvey. "If the centre had been around at the beginning of my career, I would have killed to get in," said the author of the 1987 novel In the Skin of the Lion. *Still, the Toronto resident added that he is not planning movie adaptations of his own work. Instead, Ondaatje said, he wants to develop new screenplays. He added, "Film has always been my obsession."*

Sex, understanding and videotape

Actor **Rob Lowe** says that one of his favorite lines in his upcoming movie, *Bad Influence*, is, "No one is innocent," spoken by Alex, an evil drifter played by Lowe. The 25-year-old actor should know. In June, 1989, Lowe was cast as a real-life villain when it was disclosed that he had videotaped his sexual escapades with two young women, one of whom was 16. A civil lawsuit brought against Lowe by the girl's mother, charging him with sexually exploiting a minor and causing her emotional trauma, is still pending. Lowe says that the scandal has taught him that "everyone is bad, everyone is good, everyone makes mistakes." He added that, while he "aged 10 years" over his "bad judgment," he has also learned to become a more understanding actor. Said Lowe about playing the immoral Alex: "There are many shades of grey in all of us."



Lowe: 'everyone is bad'

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE



Bowie: he has explored rock stardom from behind an ever-changing series of masks

MUSIC

Golden years

David Bowie sings his old hits one last time

A mock-Gothic frieze decorates the lip of the stage. Like a strip of stonework from a medieval cathedral it features kneeling cupids and jutting, long-necked gargoyles. The rest of the stage is bare, except for four tall lighting scaffolds, standing like totems of gnarled technology. David Bowie steps onstage wearing a dark suit and a white ruffled shirt, his pale hair swept up in a low-rise pompadour. On an acoustic guitar, he strums the opening chords of *Space Oddity*—the hit that launched his career two decades ago. And as he drones the familiar refrain, "Ground control to Major Tom," a projected film of his own image, a face more than three storeys high, floats across the stage. Larger than life—and as otherworldly as ever—David Bowie is back in orbit.

With his March 4 appearance in Quebec City, the first of seven Canadian concerts this week and next, Bowie launched an eight-month tour that will touch down in 14 countries on five continents. After the Rolling Stones, The Who and Paul McCartney—all of whom staged megatours in the past year—Bowie is the latest superstar from Britain to cash in on the public's apparently insatiable appetite for retro-rock. Dubbed 'Sound and Vision," the tour is an undisguised greatest-hits package. But, with a characteristic flair for drama, Bowie has vowed that it will be the last time he performs his old hits. "I am deliberately painting myself into a corner," the 43-year-old singer said in an interview. Unlike other superstars, who follow "in the tradition of Sinatra and drag their legacy along behind them," he added, "I want to finish off that old phase and start again. By the time I'm in my late 40s, I will have built up a whole new repertoire."

While Bowie exhumes his past in a white spotlight, the show's adventurous style undercuts any suggestion of cozy nostalgia. The performance itself is a no-frills affair—a five-man band without dancers or backup singers—and the barren staging has none of the bombastic gimmickry of Bowie's 1987 Glass Spider tour, which featured a huge mechanical bug. But it breaks exciting new ground by integrating film and video with live performance. And its mastermind is Montreal's Edouard Lock, artistic director of the innovative dance troupe La La La Human Steps.

For the Bowie tour, Lock, 35, created an elaborate array of images on 35-mm film—most of them showing a black-and-white Bowie costumed exactly as he is onstage. Tightly synchronized with Bowie's live performance, the images are projected onto a huge transparent screen that hangs at the front of the stage for much of the show. Performing both behind and in front of it, Bowie interacts with giant images of himself singing, dancing—or floating upside down.

In some songs, the projections feature the platinum-haired Montreal dancer from La La La, Louise Lecavalier—who also makes live stage appearances with Bowie at the Toronto and Montreal concerts. During Bowie's performance of his sultry *China Girl*, the screen shows silhouettes of him and Lecavalier in a dreamy shadow play of kisses. On the eve of the tour, Lock described the show as "a painter's look at rock." He added: "It doesn't deal with the 'oohs' and 'aahs' of the crowd. It tries to draw the audience into the stage, rather than push them reeling back into their seats."

Melding influences from dance, theatre, mime and the visual arts, Bowie—a former art student—specializes in the art of deflecting emotion. He is rock's chameleon prince. Instead of accepting the romance of rock stardom at face value, he has explored its poses from behind an ever-changing series of masks—characters ranging from the androgynous Ziggy Stardust to the neo-fascist Thin White Duke. In 1969's *Space Oddity*, he was astronaut Major Tom spinning irretrievably into space. With 1980's *Ashes to Ashes* ("We know Major Tom's a junkie") he dashed his rock-star persona like a mirror to the ground. And over the past decade, he has evolved from the spooky shadow man of 1980's *Scary Monsters* to the dapper showman of 1983's *Let's Dance* ("Put on your red shoes and dance the blues").

With the current tour, the chameleon's colors have turned to stark, sensible black and-



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white Adrian Belew, the brilliant lead guitarist in Bowie's new band, last toured with him in 1978 "I've noticed a terrific difference in David in 12 years," said Belew "Back then, he was playing the part of a superstar He was unapproachable Now, he's more relaxed, more fun to be with—almost one of the guys "

In his life, as well as his career, the singer who wrote *Changes* ("Look out you rock 'n rollers, pretty soon now you gonna get older") seems a changed man Reflecting on his past Bowie said "There's a whole period between late '74 and '76 which is very hazy I was doing excessive amounts of cocaine, sitting in rooms in L A just staring at huge bowls of the stuff—I was addicted in a very dangerous fashion " Bowie has since sworn off drugs and now drinks only occasionally

The singer has also formed his first stable relationship since the 1980 breakup of his nine-year marriage to Angie Bowie (their son, Zowie, 19, has changed his name to Joey and lives with his father in Switzerland) He is engaged to be married to Melissa Hurley, a 23-year-old American ballet dancer whom he met during the Glass Spider tour. The singer dismisses the 20-year gap in their ages. "I've known many couples far closer in age who have absolutely nothing in common," he said.

While creating order in his personal life, Bowie has consolidated his commercial future. In 1985 he regained rights to all his old albums from RCA Records. And to meet the demand for compact discs, he is now reissuing his back catalogue on a small American independent label, Rykodisc The marketing blitz began last fall with the release of *David Bowie Sound and Vision*, a deluxe set of recordings from 1969 to 1980 including a variety of previously unreleased tracks Meanwhile, digitally remastered versions of 18 Bowie albums are being issued over the next two years including a greatest-hits compilation *CHANGESBOWIE*, which was released last month

Onscreen as well as on record, Bowie has shipped in and out of bizarre poses—from the alien of *The Man Who Fell to Earth* (1976) to Pontius Pilate in *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988) But it is in Bowie's music that his disparate personalities finally merge He sings like a wary explorer, his voice filled with both yearning and calculation It can be cold and jangly—running scared through the upper registers—or dark with menace in the lower ranges It prefers strangeness over familiarity

While such blue-denim populists as Bruce Springsteen have fanned the campfire flame of rock's folk roots, Bowie has cruised its cold stratospheres, recombining sounds and fashions With his self-conscious, distanced style he was the forerunner for such new wave bands as Talking Heads More than anyone Bowie has served as a satellite link between the old rock and the new And even now, as he hauls out the old songs one more time, he still seems to be braving new terrain

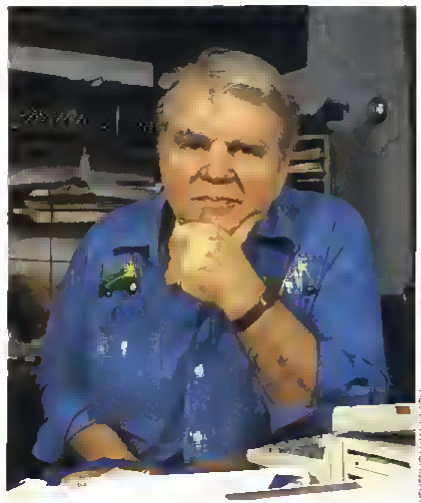
BRIAN D JOHNSON *in Quebec City with* **ROBIN EGGAR** *in London*

TELEVISION

Speak no evil

Fans win their campaign to return Andy Rooney

Last week's issue of the new U S magazine *Entertainment Weekly* contained a clip-out postcard, addressed to the editors, with a heading: "A few minutes without Andy Rooney " The magazine encouraged readers to fill in the card with suggestions for how crusty veteran newscaster Andy Rooney could pass the time during his three-month suspension from *60 Minutes*, CBS's popular weekly current-affairs program. But by week's end, that tongue-in-cheek campaign, one illustration of the widespread interest in Rooney's troubles with CBS, was out of date Less than a month after suspending the 71-year-old commentator on Feb 8, in the wake of alleged homophobic remarks, network executives abruptly reinstated him, in time to appear on the March 4 show



HENRY/GAMMA LIAISON

Rooney: critics say that he has not apologized enough

CBS News president David Burke said that the network reinstated Rooney after it judged that he is not a man "who holds prejudice in his heart and mind " But industry watchers suggested that ratings also influenced the change of heart Since Rooney's last appearance on the network's most popular program on Feb 4, ratings had plummeted more than 20 per cent The suspension without pay had also drawn storms of protest from CBS viewers, who deluged the network's New York City headquarters with more than 10,000 calls and letters supporting the commentator

The reinstatement capped several months of controversy, dating from a year-end special, *The Year with Andy Rooney* In that show, host Rooney characterized 1989 as the year people recognized that "too much alcohol too much food, drugs, homosexual unions, cigarettes . . all led quite often to premature death." When a New York-based group, the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, lodged complaints with CBS, Rooney responded with a letter to a Los Angeles-based gay newspaper, *The Advocate* explaining his distaste for homosexuality Then, *The Advocate* reported that in a subsequent conversation with writer Chris Bull, Rooney said that black Americans had "watered down their genes because the less intelligent ones are the ones that have the most children " Rooney denied making that remark.

In suspending Rooney, Burke said that CBS could not "tolerate such remarks or anything that approximates such comments " But doubts quickly arose about the case against Rooney Bull acknowledged that he did not tape the interview. And many of Rooney's colleagues said the alleged remarks did not seem to be in keeping with a man who won an Emmy Award in 1969 for a CBS documentary on black history Black leaders including New York Mayor David Dinkins, who had earlier deplored Rooney's alleged remarks, said last week that they were satisfied that he is not a bigot

But Rooney said that he was sorry last week for having offended homosexuals, telling reporters, "I believe they are in a more difficult position than I understood." While *Advocate* editor Stuart Kellogg accepted the statement, several gay-rights groups said that Rooney had not made amends. Andy Rooney may be back on the air, but he is still in the hot seat.

LARRY BLACK *in New York*

THEATRE

The spirit soars

The Avro Arrow flies again in a new drama

THE LEGEND OF THE AVRO ARROW
By Clinton Bomphray
Directed by Guy Sprung

It is a ghost from Canada's past, returned to startling life In a roar of jet engines, the needle-nosed plane rises above the audience, cloud shadows streaming over its delta wings. After 31 years, Canada's Avro Arrow jet fighter is aloft again But its flight is an illusion: the plane is a two-thirds-scale, 1½-ton model that forms the centrepiece for *The Legend of the Avro Arrow* The timely and moving new drama, which premiered at Ottawa's National Arts Centre earlier this year, opened recently at Toronto's Bluma Appel Theatre in a Canadian Stage Company production It runs there until March 10 The play, television scriptwriter Clinton Bomphray's first work for the stage, tells one of the most controversial and heartbreaking stories in the history of domestic aviation When the Arrow was unveiled in 1957, the Canadian-designed and -built jet was billed as the fastest and most advanced in the world. Two years later, it was scrapped by a Conservative government worried about soaring costs and under pressure from Washington not to allow the Canadian A V Roe company to capture the market for advanced fighters But to thousands of ordinary Canadians the Arrow's cancellation was a betrayal—a near fatal blow to the country's technology and pride



Czerny (left), Terry Tweed: controversy and betrayal

At a time of serious national discord and self-doubt, *The Legend of the Avro Arrow* offers a welcome look at the best and worst in the Canadian character It also fills the stage with an epic richness that is a far cry from the intimate, almost private focus of most English-Canadian drama While its action takes place largely on the shop floor of the A V Roe plant in the Toronto suburb of Malton—where the Arrow was manufactured—the focus also shifts to Ottawa and Washington.

There, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker (Ted Johns), U S Vice-President Richard Nixon (Ray Landry) and President Dwight Eisenhower (John Dolan) play the hardball politics that eventu-



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ally determine the Arrow's future. The actors portraying those leaders wear grotesque masks, a satirical ploy that gives the production a clearly populist perspective. The play's heroes are the workers and managers at A. V. Roe—Canadians who do their jobs well and are devastated when their years of dedication are cancelled in a single decree from Ottawa.

Their leader, an A. V. Roe executive named Reid (Henry Czerny), is a colorful, hard-drinking workaholic driven by visions of world leadership in aviation. Oddly enough, there is very little friction between him and his workers, even when he urges them on with all the subtlety of a high-school cheerleader. In Bomphray's vision, the Arrow project transcended the usual worker-management conflicts as both sides strove for something they believed in. From the perspective of the present, that viewpoint appears naive, but in the context of the play it seems entirely credible.

Still there are tensions on the shop floor. In a precursor to the feminist battles of later decades, aircraft designer Millie (Karen Woolridge) bickers constantly with her husband, Bert (John Jarvis), he wants her to leave the drawing board and stay at home with the children. Another source of trouble is Tony (Ted Johns), a slouching racist who taunts his fellow assembler Milakowski (Stuart Clow) because he is Polish. The exchanges show up the chief weakness of Bomphray's script: flat-footed dialogue that would fit in an industrial training film. But, through sheer hard work and conviction, the cast usually manages to get Bomphray's lines airborne.

The actors are also impressive for their versatility, some of them taking on as many as five parts. Johns, who plays a total of three roles, performs hilariously as Diefenbaker, wearing a jowly mask while intoning "My fellow Canadians" with all of Dief's famous blustering pomposity. The character demonstrates that satire, for all its hyperbole, can also be quite subtle. Bomphray's Diefenbaker is a surprisingly complex figure, a nationalist capable of dealing cagily with a villainous Nixon, who wants to sabotage production of the Arrow in order to sell U.S. jets. But Diefenbaker's nationalism ultimately collapses under the pressure of his own paranoia. Afraid that the $400-million Arrow project is part of a plot by his enemies on Bay Street to bleed the country dry, he flies into a rage and cancels the project.



Sprung (left), Bomphray: epic richness

Some of the sketches are more blatantly hostile. Sucking a lollipop, a youthful Brian Mulroney (Landry) appears as a student assistant to Diefenbaker. His ambition, he says, is to be American vice-president when he grows up. Bomphray pulls no punches in suggesting that the current government in Ottawa poses as great a threat to national unity and independence as its predecessor did in the 1950s.

But, ultimately, *The Legend of the Avro Arrow* flies above mere partisanship, mainly because of the positive, central role it gives to the Arrow itself. The pure whiteness and streamlined beauty of Peter Hartwell's gigantic model has an almost surreal effect, as if the Arrow were not so much a plane as a gleaming symbol risen from the collective unconscious of the confident young nation. Never has a Canadian play put so much of Canada's psychic and historical reality on the stage. Despite its sad ending, Guy Sprung's brilliantly detailed production suggests a measure of hope. The Arrow itself may have disappeared, but *The Legend of the Avro Arrow* bears witness to the survival of the creative spirit that produced it.

JOHN BEMROSE

BOOKS

Discordant memories

A record producer bitterly recalls Glenn Gould

GLENN GOULD AT WORK
CREATIVE LYING
By Andrew Kazdin
(Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 218 pages, $26.50)

Several days after pianist Glenn Gould died in 1982 at the age of 50, thousands of friends and admirers crowded into St. Paul's Anglican Church in Toronto for a memorial service. Andrew Kazdin, who had produced more than 40 of Gould's albums, was not among them. In *Glenn Gould at Work: Creative Lying*, he acknowledges that he experienced "very strong mixed feelings" when he learned of the celebrated Canadian musician's death. Kazdin, a former producer with Columbia Records in New York City, had not spoken to Gould since their 15-year professional association ended abruptly in 1979. The producer's account of working with one of the 20th century's most original and enigmatic musical geniuses unfolds in a brooding minor key, although flashes of the pianist's intellect and eccentricity surface here and there, the one note theme of Gould's ingratitude reverberates tiresomely throughout the pages.

The book's title sets its tone. "Creative lying," Kazdin writes, was Gould's own term for the act of rationalizing "any falsehoods he found it necessary to concoct." One particularly painful falsehood affected Kazdin directly. In 1979, Gould—who, according to many who knew him, had a history of cultivating friendships and then ending them without warning—told Kazdin that their days of working together were over because Columbia executives were forcing him to find another producer or begin producing his recordings himself. Later, the producer's employers at Columbia and Gould's associates said that the pianist had made the decision himself. The wound that the artist's creative lying inflicted on his producer appears to have been festering ever since. Kazdin sullenly faults Gould for such trivial offences as failing to give him a Christmas present and pronouncing the word "film" as "fillum."

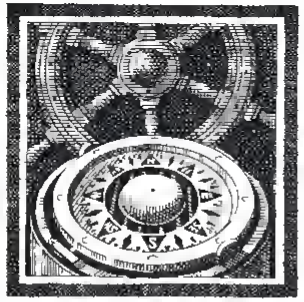
When Kazdin *is* able to get beyond his resentment, he sometimes provides an interesting glimpse of the neurotic, playful and intellectually dazzling man who was Glenn Gould. The pianist, who completely abandoned the concert hall for the recording studio, worked longer with Kazdin than with any other producer. At first, they collaborated in New York, but in later years they worked in Toronto's Eaton Auditorium, Gould's favorite studio. In one of the book's better anecdotes, Kazdin describes how Gould, known for his quirky interpretations, once recorded a movement from a Mozart sonata at an exceptionally slow tempo. When he finished, he announced triumphantly, "There! That'll bug the critics!"

Often, however, the material is on the trite side. Does anyone really care that Gould, who liked extra sugar and extra cream in his coffee, referred to the beverage as a "double-double?" There is also a lot of technical information about recording that will appeal only to hard-core audiophiles. But the real difficulty with the book is that Gould wanted to be mysterious and impenetrable—and succeeded. Kazdin says that he believed he and Gould had "a friendship that transcended the working relationship"—right up until 1979, when the elusive genius suddenly left him out in the cold. In the end, the book sheds more light on Kazdin than on the man whose memory still chafes him.

PAMELA YOUNG

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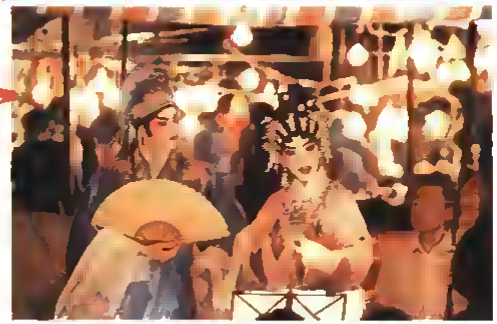
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Thomas Pynchon sifts fallout from the 1960s

VINELAND
By Thomas Pynchon
(Little Brown Canada, 385 pages, $23.95)

Thomas Pynchon may be the least prolific living American novelist of literary repute. *Vineland* is his first novel since the 1973 publication of *Gravity's Rainbow*, the dauntingly long and complex book that many critics and fans consider his masterpiece. And it is only his fourth book since he made his debut with the 1963 novel *V*. In the past 17 years, Pynchon has published only *Slow Learner* (1984), a collection of early short stories to which he added a disarming introduction that illuminates the stories' flaws in painstaking detail. It also offers a rare glimpse of how the reclusive author views himself in the scheme of American literature. Since the early 1960s, Pynchon, now 52, has been obsessively private. Legend has it that he once jumped from a second-storey window to avoid a visit from Norman Mailer, who had somehow discovered where Pynchon lived. Because his profile is so low, some have concluded that Pynchon is a real-life embodiment of the theme of paranoia that dominates his novels.

In *Vineland* that theme is still evident. Set in California in 1984 but abounding in flashbacks, *Vineland* deals with the delayed repercussions of the youthful outburst of rebellion that tore apart the United States in the late 1960s. As the novel opens, Zoyd Wheeler, a likably unregenerate hippie, is gearing up to do "something publicly crazy" so that he can continue to collect yearly mental-disability cheques. Zoyd lives in Vineland, a fictional community set among the redwoods of northern California, with Prairie, his teenage daughter from a long-dissolved marriage to a former radical film-maker named Frenesi Gates. Prairie's boyfriend, Isaiah Two Four, is a gun-crazy punk rocker who tries to ingratiate himself with Zoyd by humming Jimi Hendrix's *Purple Haze* and dyeing his mohawk-styled hair Zoyd's favorite psychedelic colors.

To keep the cheques coming, Zoyd puts on a woman's dress and jumps through the window of a Vineland roadhouse. Present at that spectacle—which has become an annual rite—are TV crews and, more important to the unfolding of the labyrinthine plot, Hector Zuñiga. He is a Drug Enforcement Administration operative who has been hounding Zoyd on and off for years—and who has recently escaped a "Tubaldetox" centre for television addicts.

Zoyd smells something rotten in Vineland. And, on a flimsy pretext, a justice department strike force seizes his house at the behest of Brock Vond, an unscrupulous federal prosecutor. A protective Zoyd sends Prairie away with her boyfriend, whose band has been hired to play at a mob wedding near San Francisco. There she encounters DL Chastain, an old friend of Prairie's mother. Gradually, Chastain reveals some unsavory truths about Frenesi.



Pynchon in 1953: personification of paranoia

What happened to Frenesi is the crux of *Vineland*. It is Pynchon's parable of the crumbling under pressure from what he calls the "Nixonian Reaction," of the 1960s idealistic counterculture. "As betrayal became routine," writes Pynchon, "no one, Frenesi was finding out . . . could be considered safely above it . . . with money from the CIA, FBI, and others circulating everywhere, leaving the merciless spores of paranoia wherever it flowed."

Seventeen years have changed Pynchon's writing very little. *Vineland* is lighter-hearted and easier to read than *Gravity's Rainbow*, but it retains Pynchon's smart-alecky, oddly genial narrative voice, his taste for absurdity, and his love of groan-inducing puns (when a waitress drops a bill onto a mound of mayonnaise, Zoyd quips, "Check's in the mayo"). Sentences still run on breathlessly, clusters of clauses reaching up to half a page in length. Although they sometimes get too convoluted, they impart an aptly high-strung quality to the narrative. Now and then, Pynchon lapses into wistful interludes that can be strikingly poignant in their paranoid context. "These early cool minutes on the deck," he writes, "with an unseen delirium of birds, sun in the tops of trees, radio music, woodsmoke, and babies squealing from across the canyon, became what [Frenesi] held precious and often lived for."

That wistful spirit pervades the novel's ending, in which all the strands of plot and subplot lead back to the idyllic but besieged Vineland, converging in an apocalyptic reunion party. In sharp contrast to Pynchon's other novels—especially *Gravity's Rainbow*, which ends in midsentence as a V-2 rocket bomb plummets towards London—*Vineland* is a story with a resolution, and a fairly optimistic one at that. And while the novel's relative levity—and brevity—may disappoint hardcore Pynchon fans, the road to Vineland is still worth travelling.

TIM POWIS

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FICTION

1 **Devices and Desires,** *James (1)*
2 **Vineland,** *Pynchon (2)*
3 **Foucault's Pendulum,** *Eco (3)*
4 **Hollywood,** *Vidal (7)*
5 **Solomon Gursky Was Here,** *Richler (4)*
6 **Quinconx,** *Palliser (5)*
7 **A History of the World in 10½ Chapters,** *Barnes (10)*
8 **The Great and Secret Show,** *Barker*
9 **According to Jake and the Kid,** *Mitchell (6)*
10 **27,** *Diehl*

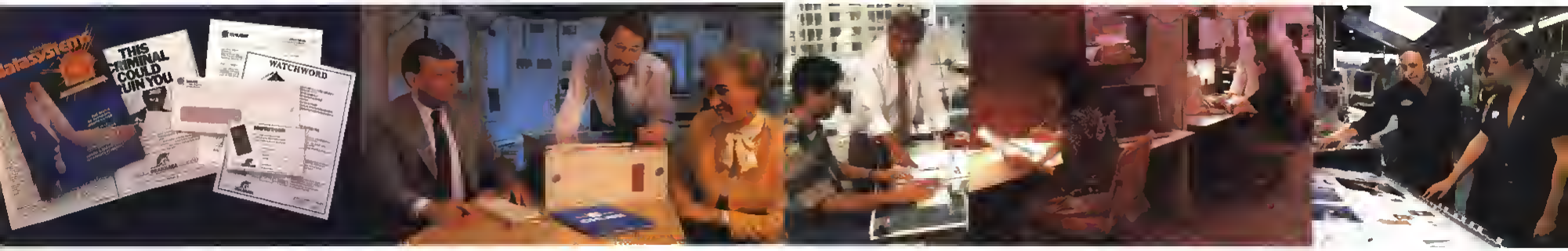
NONFICTION

1 **Barbarians at the Gate,** *Burrough and Helyar (3)*
2 **Home Game,** *Dryden and MacGregor (2)*
3 **Megatrends 2000,** *Naisbitt and Aburdene (1)*
4 **Wonderful Life,** *Gould (4)*
5 **Liar's Poker,** *Lewis (6)*
6 **The Dispossessed,** *York (5)*
7 **Dance on the Earth,** *Laurence (8)*
8 **The Emperor's New Mind,** *Penrose*
9 **Inventing the Future,** *Suzuki (10)*
10 **Unfinished Journey,** *Smith*

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Compiled by Brian Bethune

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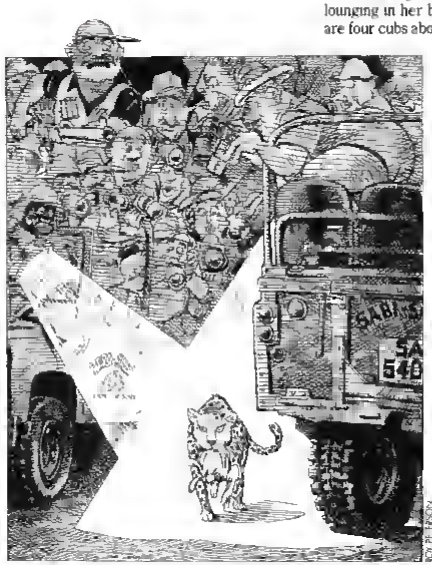
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A 'shooting' tour in Hollywood, S.A.

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM



It was Churchill, having gone through the experience himself in the Boer War, who pronounced that the most thrilling thing in the world was to be shot at—and missed. Those millions of us who are amateur Walter Mittys have always assumed an equivalent peril facing down a charging elephant or standing there wondering what to do when an enraged lion emerged from the African bush.

We have got news for you. The first thing you do is turn on your Kodak. The self adjusting one with the zoom lens and no need for focusing and that takes pictures in darkness or light. That's your only worry. Just aim in the right general direction. You have more danger of a hit-and-run taxi than you do of any beast of the jungle.

We are at the Sabi Sabi Game Reserve in deepest Africa. It is idyllic. Across the ravine, gazing over the groaning buffet table, just down from the swimming pool, we sip Bombay gin as baboons cavort in trees, impalas graze and wild birds shriek love songs. The sun sinks in the endless African sky and we are about to go out and tackle the mysterious animals in their native habitat.

Our beasts of journey are huge and indestructible open Land Rovers that contain three and four rows of seats, tiered as in a London theatre. They look as if they have just come from Montgomery's victory at El Alamein. They are filled mainly with large and bulbous German tourists, dressed in shorts that large and bulbous people should not wear. An African with sharp eyes—the "lookie-lookie"—sits on a bolted-down chair on the hood.

The landscape, in truth, is rather monotonous, short trees kept short by the sun, unimpressive to a British Columbian raised on giants. Wildebeests seen at a distance. A warthog scurrying along, as ugly as its name. Waterbucks, distinguishable, as our ranger-driver explains, because it appears they have sat down on a wet toilet.

A giraffe is spotted far away. The animal lore of John, the bronzed ranger, is more interesting than the giraffe. How it requires a heart the size of a football to pump all that blood up to its faraway brain. And, so the pressure won't explode up top, how a delicate system of membranes drain it off. One now looks upon giraffes as not awkward, elongated teenagers but as intricate pumping stations.

There is the mother lion whose fat and lazy two sons are still with her and, in fact, are mating with her. (Don't leave home without one.) If a stronger male appears on the scene, he will drive them off and kill and often eat the new offspring. Darwin rules. She has this morning been chased up a tree by seven hyenas. They are thought of in myth as cowards, but seven against one lion are too much.

The ranger's main weapon is—not the "lookie-lookie's" sharp eyes—but his intercom-radio. We roam the bush, crashing over fallen trees and bouncing down dried streams, but the radio constantly crackles. An elephant apparently has been spotted. When we arrive, there are two other Sabi Sabi Land Rovers, armed with a year's output from Kodak, lurking in the brush. He is old and tired, with just one tusk left, so yellowed and rotting that it wouldn't provide a pound of aphrodisiac for Hong Kong businessmen. An elephant eats 18 hours a day. The ranger turns off the motor. We sit, as the German and Japanese and Kodak cameras click, 15 yards away from him. He does not seem interested. He could be a prop hired by the local tourist board. In fact, may be. We're still not sure.

Things grow worse. The radio alerts us—thus alerting every other Land Rover released from El Alamein—that there is a sighting of a cheetah. The fastest land animal, which uses the long tail as a rudder to steer when travelling 110 km/h, is at dead slow, as a matter of fact reclining at dusk rather like a starlet lounging in her boudoir in a silk teddy. There are four cubs about, more confused than angry at all the attention while mother views the bulbous tourists—now 10 feet away—languidly. "We try to make it a rule," says the ranger, "that no more than four Land Rovers at a time should be present." With 12 or so cameras per vehicle, that gives Kodak its yearly dividend right there.

It is dark now when the animals, here for the amusement, come out to prowl and kill and eat. The radio tells of a leopard-spotting. The beautiful beast is found but, intruding through the foliage are the headlights of the converging Land Rovers, a "lookie-lookie" on each engine hood waving a spotlight—the better to service those unfortunate souls whose cameras cannot see in the dark. Sabi Sabi takes its name from the Sabi Sabi River. Sabi Sabi means "fear fear" since the river had a nasty history. The only thing to fear here is eardrum damage from motor-driven cameras that cost more individually than this Land Rover.

Mother leopard, the only dignified individual present, looks for a discreet area of retreat. She looks left, right, behind her and—as if in weary resignation since she is pinned in by vehicles, headlights, spotlights and whirring cameras—moves down a path between. There is a sliver of a silver moon overhead and the lights make it appear a Hollywood set. For a moment, it reminds a reporter for all the world of a Michael Dukakis or a Jean Chretien doing a main-streeting, handshaking tour while pretending not to know that half a hundred cameras are trained on his every grimace.

Mother leopard is said to be heading for the waterhole. When she gets there, there are so many blinding lights, so much a stage setting, that she gazes about and instead pads off into the bush. Undoubtedly looking for a Coke.

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